

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE

MURRAY L. R. BEAVEN

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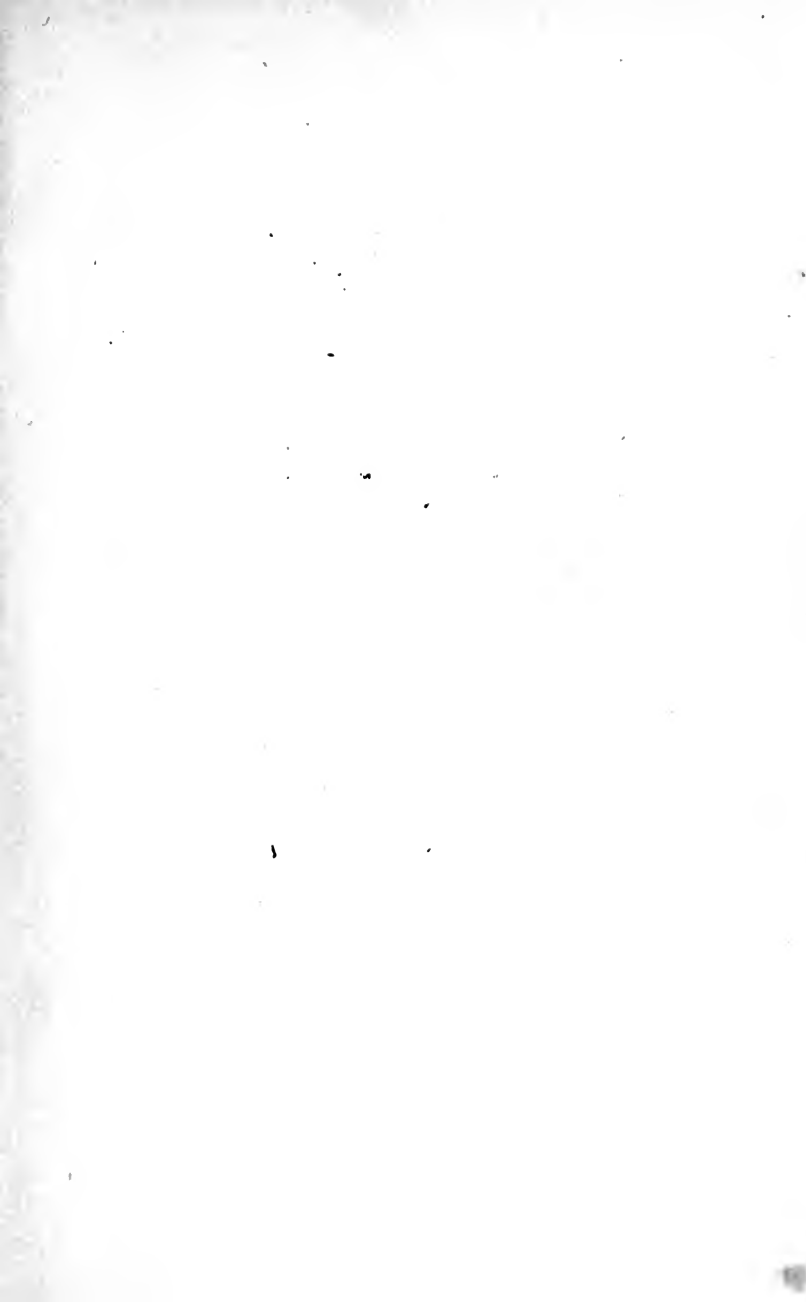
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SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE

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THE GLADSTONE ESSAY

1908

BY

MURRAY L. R. BEAVEN

SCHOLAR OF EXETER COLLEGE; (ASSISTANT TO
THE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN)

'Stet quicumque volet, potens
Aulae culmine lubrico:
Me dulcis saturet quies:
Obscuro positus loco,
Leni perfruar otio.'

—*Seneca.*



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PREFACE

IN preparing this Essay for publication, I have made a few alterations, mainly of a verbal nature, and have added some footnotes and appendices. The only assistance I have to acknowledge is that of my father, to whose collections relating to the details of electoral history and to the *personnel* of administrative and advisory Councils I am indebted for much of the material incorporated in the Appendices on University Representatives and on the Privy Council of 1679-81, neither of which were included in the original Essay.

M. L. R. B.

EXETER COLLEGE,

October 15, 1908.

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SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE

CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND ANCESTRY

WILLIAM TEMPLE, the author of the Triple Alliance, was born at Blackfriars in London in 1628. The family of which he represented the younger branch of a younger line, though of ancient lineage and honourable estate, is unmentioned in our annals earlier than the union of the Crowns in 1603. Since that date, however, the "Temple connection," frequently recruited by intermarriage, has exercised so profound and continuous an influence over our political life and the destinies of the nation, that no biography of any member of this celebrated family would be complete without a brief preliminary survey of the parent stock and of its numerous offshoots.

Robert, the first of the Temples about whom it is possible to speak with any certainty,¹ appears to have been living at the ancestral seat of Temple Hall in Leicestershire about the middle of the fifteenth

¹ In the visitation of Leicestershire in 1619 the family is traced back to the time of Henry III. The Temples themselves laid claim to a longer and more illustrious pedigree.

century.¹ After his death the family split into two branches, the former represented by his elder son, Robert, who continued the descent at Temple Hall, the latter by a younger son, Thomas, who settled at Witney in Oxfordshire. The Leicestershire branch appears to have fallen upon evil days,² and the only one of Robert's descendants who emerges upon the page of history, Peter Temple, the regicide, would seem to have begun life as apprentice to a linen-draper in London. Temple Hall, which he inherited at a later period, was confiscated at the Restoration and bestowed upon the Duke of York. In striking contrast, however, to the chequered fortunes of the elder line were those of the younger, whose representative, Peter, great-grandson of Thomas, became, towards the end of the sixteenth century, lessee of the estate of Stowe in Buckinghamshire. This Peter, who died in the year 1577, left two sons, John and Anthony, ancestors respectively of the two main branches of the Temple family represented by the noble houses of Buckingham and Palmerston. The elder, John, who purchased the estate at Stowe, was also the father of two sons, of whom the elder, Thomas, was created a Baronet in 1611, being one of the earliest to receive that honour, and the younger, Sir Alexander, Knight, of Etchingam in Sussex, is perhaps worthy of mention as the father of that James Temple who, like his distant kinsman, Peter, signed the death-warrant of Charles I. The services which Peter and James Temple had rendered

¹ Article on Sir Richard Temple in D.N.B.

² Apparently as the result of too undiscerning a loyalty to Richard III. (Life of Temple, "by a Particular Friend" [Lady Giffard], prefixed to vol. i. of Temple's "Works," ed. 1770.)

to the cause of the Parliament were recognised in 1659 at the restoration of the Rump, when the cousins were assigned official lodgings at Whitehall—quarters, however, which they exchanged a year later, on the restoration of the King, for a more permanent, if less comfortable, abode in the Tower.¹ The descendants of Sir Thomas Temple, first Baronet of Stowe, illustrious as they were, may be briefly dismissed. Sir Richard, the third Baronet, demands, however, passing notice, both as a contemporary of the subject of this essay and on account of his zealous advocacy of the Exclusion Bill, which earned him the nickname of “the Stowe Monster” amongst James’s adherents. His eldest son and successor, Richard, was created Viscount Cobham by George I.: a soldier of merit, who had served under Marlborough in the Flemish campaigns, he was equally well-known in literary and political circles as the friend of Pope and opponent of Walpole, at whose instance he was subsequently deprived of his military offices. On his death the Baronetcy passed to a younger branch, on whose extinction in the male line in 1786 it was assumed by an American gentleman, of Irish birth and problematical kinship, whose descendants retain the title at the present day.² By virtue of a special

¹ Peter Temple remained in the Tower till his death in December 1663. James Temple’s imprisonment was of longer duration, for in 1668 we find him still in confinement, though this time in Jersey. The date and scene of his death are apparently unknown. See D.N.B. for articles on both of the regicides.

² See *Complete Peerage* by G.E.C(okayne). The subsequent vicissitudes of the Temple Baronetcy are of some historical and genealogical interest. From the two younger branches which in succession held the title were descended respectively, through the female line, two of the ablest public servants of the Victorian era: viz., the Right Hon. Sir

remainder, the Viscounty, together with the estate at Stowe, passed to Lord Cobham's sister, Hester Grenville, created in the same year Countess Temple. From this lady, widow of Mr Richard Grenville of Wootton, Bucks, sprang that famous "Cousinhood," known in the first generation as the "Boy Patriots," which was to dominate English politics throughout the reigns of the second and third Georges, and whose sum of Cabinet honours has been calculated with mathematical exactitude by Lord Macaulay. The male line of the descendants of Countess Temple became extinct upon the death of the last Duke of Buckingham in 1889.

The splendid fortunes of this, the elder branch of the main Temple family, continued indeed by female succession, have tended to overshadow those of the younger branch, from which Sir William Temple derived his origin and of which the founder was Anthony, son of Peter Temple and uncle of Sir Thomas, the first Baronet of Stowe. It was Sir Thomas Temple's line which in the eighteenth century enriched our national annals with the names of Pitt and Grenville; but in the seventeenth, as in the nineteenth century, it was the younger branch which (in the persons respectively of Sir William Temple and of the last Viscount Palmerston) displayed the virility of the original stock. Anthony Temple's son William was a man of some note. Attracting attention early in his career by his works in philosophy, he became secretary successively to Sir

Richard Temple, the well-known Indian statesman and administrator, and the late Marquess of Dufferin and Ava. (See Pedigree, Appendix I.)

Philip Sidney, who is said to have died in his arms, and to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. In the latter capacity he was a colleague of Anthony Bacon. The fall of Essex marred his political prospects, and he returned after that event to his literary pursuits.

In 1609, having lately received the honour of knighthood, he was appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, which office he held until his death in 1627. Of his two sons, Thomas, the younger, was noted as a Puritan preacher in London during the session of the Long Parliament, and became a member of the Westminster Assembly. The elder, John, the father of Sir William, had a more distinguished career. Entering the personal service of Charles I., he was knighted, and, in 1640, appointed Master of the Rolls in Ireland. There he played a conspicuous part in the events following upon the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion, and was eventually suspended from office owing to the vehemence of his opposition to the famous "Cessation." Released after a short imprisonment, he was returned to the English House of Commons, from which, however, he was one of the members excluded in 1648 for having favoured a policy of compromise with the King. For the next four years he withdrew from public life, and was thus without participation in the tragic events which were to bring the nemesis of a prolonged incarceration upon his two regicide kinsmen. Meanwhile, he had obtained great reputation by a work upon the history of the Irish Rebellion, in which he expressed views the violence of which made the work acceptable to those in authority, and in 1653 he was restored to his old position as Master of the Rolls,

in which he was confirmed at the Restoration, retaining it until his death in 1677. He married Mary, daughter of John Hammond, M.D., and sister of Henry Hammond, the celebrated divine. The eldest son of this union was William Temple, the statesman. Of the other children we need only mention John and Martha, the latter of whom became the wife of Sir Thomas Giffard, and after a few brief weeks of married life entered as a permanent member into her eldest brother's household, somewhat, as it would seem, to the prejudice of her sister-in-law's supremacy. The younger brother, John, followed in the path of his father and grandfather and was created a knight. He was Speaker of the Irish House of Commons 1661-66, and became Solicitor-General, and, after the Revolution of 1688, Attorney-General, for Ireland. He survived Sir William, and died in March 1705.¹ His eldest son, Henry Temple, was created Viscount Palmerston in 1723, and was the ancestor of the famous Prime Minister of the following century.

In order to estimate William Temple's career in its true perspective, we have devoted what may appear disproportionate space to the foregoing sketch of the fortunes of his house. In so doing we have somewhat anticipated history. Our excuse, if it be necessary, must lie in the fact that it is impossible to dissociate Temple's diplomatic successes from the later glories of a family of which he was the first to attain to eminence, and whose political influence in the following century Macaulay has not hesitated to compare with that exercised by the Douglas and Neville connections in the heroic age of baronial ascendancy.

¹ The date, 10th March 1704, given in the D.N.B., is reckoned according to the O.S.

CHAPTER II

YOUTH, MARRIAGE, AND ENTRY INTO PUBLIC LIFE

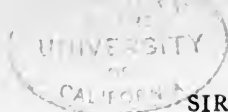
TEMPLE was born in the year which witnessed the enactment of the Petition of Right ; hence his boyhood was passed amidst the troubled scenes of constitutional strife which attended the personal government of Charles I. His youth coincided with the Civil War. Few details of his early years have been preserved, a fact which, in the bloodshed and turmoil of the period, need occasion no surprise. The very day and month of his birth appear to have escaped the notice of his biographers.

Sir John Temple was at this time, as we have seen, an adherent of the Court : consequently there is nothing remarkable in his having entrusted the care of his eldest son's education to the boy's uncle, Henry Hammond, at that time Rector of Penshurst in Kent, and subsequently friend and chaplain to Charles I. during the period of his misfortunes. In 1643 Hammond was sequestered from his living as a "scandalous minister" by the Presbyterian majority in Parliament, and it was apparently at this time that William was transferred to a school at Bishop-Stortford, where he was indebted to a Mr Leigh for all the classical learning which he ever

acquired.¹ At the age of seventeen he proceeded to Cambridge, where he entered into residence as a fellow-commoner at Emmanuel College, and passed under the tuition of the eminent philosopher and theologian, Dr Ralph Cudworth.² It may be questioned, however, whether it was from the author of "The True Intellectual System of the Universe" and "A Treatise on Eternal and Immutable Morality" that Temple imbibed the literary and philosophic tastes which distinguished him in later years; more probably these were an inheritance from his grandfather, the Provost of Trinity, and from his father, the historian of the Irish Rebellion. It is doubtful, indeed, whether he was much indebted to Cambridge for his intellectual development. A passion for tennis, to which, Lady Giffard tells us, he devoted half his time, seems to have been the most permanent influence of his university days. He himself was wont to ascribe his knowledge of Latin to the training he received at Bishop-Stortford, rather than to the enthusiasm of the erudite Cudworth; and the celebrated controversy in which he afterwards engaged over the authenticity of the "Epistles of Phalaris"—if that may be called a controversy which was in reality a contest of presumptuous ignorance with learning and scholarship—exemplified the lamentable extent to which his Greek had in after life deserted him. Since the days of Elizabeth, Cambridge had always been remarkable for a Puritan bias, and her atmosphere during the central

¹ Life, "by a Particular Friend."

² Cudworth, with More, Whichcote and Smith, formed the school of the Cambridge Platonists, the Anglican Rationalists of the seventeenth century.



decades of the seventeenth century must have been conducive rather to the practice of declamation than to classical study. After two years' residence Temple severed a connection which he was to renew more than thirty years later as the University's representative in the "Exclusion" Parliament of 1680. Like the elder Pitt and many other men of note, he left his University without taking a degree.¹

The England into which Temple was thus cast adrift in the year 1648 was far from being an agreeable residence for that rare phenomenon among his countrymen of the day—a man of pacific leanings and unpronounced views. The nation was divided between adherence to a dominant army, a disunited Parliament, or a captive king. Of Temple's own political sympathies at this moment we have very little knowledge. In a man of the temperament which he afterwards disclosed, they are not likely to have been of a strongly pronounced type. On such a character the diversity of sentiment existing even amongst his closest relatives cannot have been without its influence. There would seem, indeed, to have been a singular lack of unanimity of opinion prevailing amongst the various members of the Temple and Hammond families who were at this time playing a prominent part in public life. Henry Hammond alone of this connection may be called a single-hearted supporter of the Royalist cause. On the other hand, whilst two of the Temples² were to be found among the signatories of Charles I.'s

¹ *E.g.*, Charles James Fox, Lord Rosebery and the fourteenth Earl of Derby.

² *I.e.*, the regicides, Peter and James Temple.

death-warrant, Thomas Hammond,¹ after attending throughout the trial, refrained at the last moment from attaching his signature; and Sir Peter Temple, the head of his house, absented himself during the whole course of the proceedings, and declined to sit in judgment upon the sovereign whom for several years he had resisted in arms. Sir John Temple, as we have seen, had espoused the Parliamentary interest in 1643. He was, nevertheless, unwilling to proceed to extremities against the King, in consequence of which his career in the English House of Commons, where he had sat for two years as "recruiter" for Chichester, was brought to an abrupt termination at the close of 1648 by Colonel Pride. Finally Robert Hammond, in whose custody Charles was now resident at Carisbrooke, was still oscillating between the allegiance he owed to his royal prisoner and the loyalty he had sworn to the Parliamentary cause.

With which of these discordant lines of policy should Temple identify himself? This was the problem which confronted him at the outset of his career. His early training under his uncle's roof, and the distaste with which, as a moderate man, he must have regarded the fanatical Puritanism of his Cambridge surroundings, had probably imbued him with a certain sympathy for the cause of Charles I. The situation, however, was not one to attract him to take part in public life: the strife of factions which beset him at every turn of his political career and eventually brought it to a premature close, never

¹ For the family relationship of the Temples and Hammonds, see Pedigree, Appendix I.

made Temple into an adventurous politician or an embittered partisan. In 1648 he took the course which a study of his temperament would lead us to expect: he determined to leave England and travel abroad. Whether this resolution was dictated by Sir John Temple's desire that he should extend his education or by the habitual caution which distinguished him in later years, it is impossible to say. Whatever his motives, he set out for France, and his route took him into the Isle of Wight.

Temple made but a brief stay in the little island where his cousin was now acting as gaoler to his King. His visit, however, little as he expected it, was destined to introduce a new and permanent influence into his life. It was here that he first made the acquaintance of Dorothy Osborne.¹ That young lady was travelling under the escort of her brother to rejoin her father, Sir Peter Osborne of Chicksands, at that time Governor of Guernsey in the interest of the King. The story of the incident which first drew Temple's attention to Dorothy's charms will bear repetition. Young Osborne's indiscreet ardour for the captive monarch's cause brought the party into collision with the Parliamentary authorities. Unable to render Charles any active assistance,² the youth resolved to engage the Roundheads on their own ground and confront them with a text. Waiting till

¹ Dorothy, it appears, spelt her name in this way. The form *Osborn* has now been adopted by Sir Peter's descendants. (See *Complete Peerage*, by G.E.C.)

² Young Osborne is presumably *not* identical, as some have imagined, with the Osborne who, as we learn from Clarendon, was in attendance upon Charles, and was implicated in a design for that monarch's escape.

the remainder of the party had gone, he scratched upon the window of the inn where they had stayed: "And *Haman* was hanged upon the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai,"¹ thus playing upon the surname of Temple's kinsman, the Governor. He was arrested in consequence and brought before Hammond, but the ready wit of his sister was equal to the emergency; she took upon herself the sole responsibility for the outrage, and the friends were accordingly allowed to depart without further unpleasantness. The chivalry for which Burke made lament in the days of Marie Antoinette was apparently not yet extinct in the revolutionary times of Charles I.

From the Isle of Wight the party proceeded on their journey to France. There for some time Temple remained in the company of his friends, and conceived a devoted attachment to "Mrs" Osborne, which was fully reciprocated on the side of the lady, and which forms the main feature of interest in Temple's life during the next seven years. For the present, however, the couple were separated, as Sir John Temple, hearing of his son's infatuation, urged him to proceed to Paris without further delay. We have no account of what passed on Temple's travels beyond the fact that he spent two years in France, where he mastered the language, and that he afterwards journeyed in Holland, Flanders, and Germany.² He learned Spanish also in the course of his wanderings, and conceived a strong desire to become the King's Minister at Brussels.³ The distractions of the "Grand Tour" did not, however, divert Temple's

¹ Esther vii. 10. ² Life, "by a Particular Friend." ³ Courtenay, i. 6.

mind from his mistress ; whilst engaged on his travels, and during his subsequent sojourn in London, he maintained frequent correspondence with the object of his affections. In the Metropolis, indeed, where he stayed after his return from the Continent, he appears to have had ample time, not only for the composition of love-letters, but for other and, as they have proved, less permanent contributions to literature. He entered but half-heartedly into the dissipations of London and Brussels, and employed himself, when not writing to Dorothy, in certain essays in prose and verse which have won somewhat extravagant commendation from the not unbiassed pen of Lady Giffard. Courtenay seems rather uncertain as to how to regard these early writings, and indeed in title, if not in matter, the more fanciful of them would to-day appeal rather to the melodramatic tastes of the lower strata of our urban population than to ladies in a social position corresponding to that of Temple's mistress, for whose edification they were primarily intended.¹ Temple himself exhibited his habitual judgment and caution in withholding them from publication, and we may infer from such titles as "The Disastrous Chances of Love and Fortune, set forth in Divers Tragical Stories, etc.," that his chief biographer has shown equal discrimination in electing to allow them to remain in oblivion.

Over the story of Temple's courtship, fascinating as it is, it would be tempting to linger. At the time of their first meeting in the Isle of Wight the couple had barely emerged from their teens, Dorothy being

¹ For the titles of these pieces, see Courtenay, i. 8 (footnote).

twenty-one, and Temple only twenty years of age. For seven years the young people remained in suspense, during which period, with the exception of occasional meetings, their intercourse was mainly in the nature of correspondence. Temple's letters have not been preserved, but the majority of Dorothy's are happily extant, and have been universally acknowledged as amongst the most entertaining of their kind. Unfortunately, the absence of any dates to indicate the sequence of the letters,¹ and more especially the fact that we possess but one side of the correspondence, deprives this interesting collection of much of its importance for the student of Temple's career. The letters themselves are bright and enlivening, and enable us to form a not inadequate conception at once of the society of the time and of the personality of a very fascinating woman. Dorothy's portraits show her to have been possessed of much physical attraction, and it was this, probably, which first engaged Temple's attention. But Dorothy is more than this: she is a well-educated, vivacious, and altogether charming person. Her letters prove her to be at home with almost any subject, from the ethics of love-making to the politics of Whitehall. We find in them allusions, for example, to the eviction of the Rump,² the correct style of letter-writing,³ the requisites in a desirable husband,⁴ the rights and wrongs of second marriage,⁵ the advantage of a probationary period during which engaged

¹ This difficulty, however, is now almost entirely removed by the publication in 1888 of His Honour Judge Parry's edition of Dorothy's letters. Unhappily none appear to be extant earlier in date than 1652.

² Parry, p. 79.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

couples should live together,¹ and many other topics of intellectual and practical interest, all of which Dorothy discusses with a wit and dexterity which are a credit to her sex. But, despite the evidences which the letters afford of reciprocal affection, it is clear that the course of Temple's wooing was not a smooth one. More than once, indeed, the engagement seemed on the point of being broken off; and Dorothy, with how much sincerity it is not difficult to guess, even goes the length in some of her letters of advising such a course.² There were many obstacles to be surmounted: the scantiness of Temple's fortune, the dislike which Dorothy's relations entertained of his Puritan connections, her brother's doubts as to his personal honour, the objections of Sir John Temple, who wished his son to make a more advantageous marriage, and last, but not least, the attitude of "Mrs" Osborne herself, all conduced to delay the event. Dorothy, in fact, as she naïvely confesses,³ was keenly alive to the ridicule she might possibly incur by contracting a love-match without adequate provision for material comforts, nor was she unexposed to the temptation of a more brilliant alliance. Temple, indeed, had many rivals, the most dangerous of whom would seem to have been Henry Cromwell, a younger son of the Lord-General—a youth who, as we may readily believe, was rendered none the less formidable a competitor for a young lady's affections by the possession of those very qualities which transformed him, when regarded from the primly orthodox point of view of Colonel Hutchinson's helpmeet, into an "insolent foole" and a "debauched,

¹ Parry, p. 179.² *Ibid.*, p. 196.³ *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 281.

ungodly cavalier." Dorothy had other lovers, notably Sir Justinian Isham, whom she nicknamed "the Emperor," and her cousin, Sir Thomas Osborne,¹ afterwards the famous Danby, though we do not read of their having rendered her such acceptable tribute as "the fine Irish greyhound" which was Henry Cromwell's offering. In the end, however, true love triumphed. Dorothy turned a deaf ear alike to importunate suitors and to fraternal opposition, and she and Temple were at last united. A romantic pathos attaches to the close of this celebrated wooing, for shortly before her wedding Dorothy was attacked by the small-pox, and the bride whom Temple led to the altar bore visible traces of the ravages of the disease. The marriage was performed on Christmas Day, 1654, in the Parish Church of St Giles-in-the-Fields.²

The years which followed upon Temple's wedding were amongst the quietest and least eventful of his life. After passing a somewhat lengthy honeymoon,³

¹ The cousinship of Dorothy Osborne and Sir Thomas is curious, seeing that on the paternal side, despite the identity of surname, there was no relationship. No connection has been established between the Yorkshire Osbornes and those of Chicksands. Sir Thomas was the grandson, through his mother, of Elizabeth Danvers, wife of one Thomas Walmesley, Esq., and sister of Henry E. of Danby (*d.* 1644), Sir Charles Danvers (of Essex's rebellion), Sir John Danvers the regicide, and Dorothy, wife of Sir Peter Osborne and mother of Dorothy, Lady Temple. Dorothy and Sir Thomas were thus first cousins once removed.

² The D.N.B. following Parry's earlier edition gives 31st January 1654-55. The Judge's later researches seem to have set at rest all doubts on the vexed question of the date of Temple's wedding; the authority of Henry Osborne's diary being corroborated by an entry in the Marriage Register of St Giles's. (Parry, Appendix I., p. 291.)

³ According to Courtenay (i. 22), it lasted a year!

as the guests of Dorothy's "cousin Franklin," at Moor Park in Hertfordshire,¹ the happy couple repaired to Ireland, where they spent the next few years beneath Sir John Temple's roof, residing alternately in Dublin and in County Carlow, where young Temple also acquired an estate of his own. In Ireland Temple lived the unostentatious life of a simple country gentleman, employing his time in gardening, study, and county affairs. The years which he thus passed were years, as he has himself told us, of "great satisfaction." They were the years which preceded the restoration of the ancient monarchy, but Temple resolutely held aloof from politics and public life, until the final collapse of the Cromwellian experiment. We are told that he "refused all solicitations of entering into any employment under the usurper,"² and his inaction at this period is attributed in his *Memoirs* to attachment to the "ancient constitutions." In the absence of fuller information as to the nature of the "solicitations" to which Lady Giffard refers, we may assume that they were at least not sufficiently attractive in character to entice a somewhat half-hearted politician from the security of his seclusion. Temple accordingly divided his time between his gardens and his "closet," and ignored the political happenings around him. There is, however, a document in his handwriting still existing at Coddenham which affords an excellent insight into his mental attitude towards

¹ Parry, p. 292. The artificial glories of the grounds at Moor Park were afterwards commemorated by Temple himself in his essay on "Gardening."

² *Life*, "by a Particular Friend."

the events of this period. Its title is, "A family prayer, made in the fanatic times, when our servants were of so many different sects; and composed with the design that all might join in it, and so as to contain what was necessary for any to know, and to do." Nothing which he could have written could give us a better idea of the character of the man and his habitual moderation than this prayer, composed with the object of its being agreeable to all parties in an age which was conspicuous for sectarian fanaticism; and nothing could have been more gratifying to the ears of a wife who had been cut to the quick by the accusation which her brother had levelled against Temple of indifference to religion.

But the time was now at hand when Temple could no longer withhold himself from the service of his country under the plea of "attachment to the ancient constitution." The Protector died, the Commonwealth entered upon its last brief phase of anarchic inanition, and the "fanatic times" passed into history. With the "happy Restoration" Temple entered upon public life, and was chosen a member of the irregular Convention which sat in Dublin in the early months of 1660. In the following year that body was superseded by a regularly elected Irish Parliament, in which Temple took his seat as Member for Carlow, sharing the county representation with his father, Sir John; whilst his brother, the younger Sir John, represented the borough and was Speaker of the House. In the transactions of this Parliament Temple played a conspicuous part, and it is at once a striking proof of his independence and a curious commentary upon his quixotic professions of attach-

ment to the Crown, that it was in opposition to a Government proposal that he first assumed a prominent place in political life.¹ He served at times upon several committees, to one of which, appointed for the promotion of the trade of Ireland, some interest attaches in the light of the views which Temple has himself expressed in his essay on this subject. He was also concerned in the details of the Irish Act of Settlement. This aptitude for administrative business would seem to have been accompanied by some skill in debate, for "his friends used to tell him he had talent in that way." In short, though we know but little of this period of his life, it is easy to believe that Temple showed to considerable advantage during his brief connection with the Irish House of Commons.

In May 1663 the Irish Parliament was prorogued, and at the age of thirty-five Temple had already become a public man. His experience had not been confined to the floor of the House. In July 1661 he had been one of the commissioners sent over by the Parliament in Dublin to wait upon the King in London, and in that capacity had been presented to the newly-appointed Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormonde. By Ormonde Temple was coldly received: probably the Lord-Lieutenant had not wholly forgiven Sir John Temple's attitude towards the Irish Cessation of 1643. Ormonde's resentment, however, was short-lived. In 1662 he arrived in Dublin to take up his office, and his prejudice against Temple was wholly removed by personal acquaintance with him. He speedily became interested in

¹ The story of Temple's opposition to the "Pole" (*i.e.* Poll) Bill is told by Lady Giffard in the Life, "by a Particular Friend."

the young man's fortunes, and was mainly instrumental in launching him upon a diplomatic career.

Temple now, on the prorogation of Parliament, removed to London, where his household received another addition in the person of his widowed sister, Lady Giffard. His family was small, for the majority of the children whom Dorothy had borne to him had died in infancy. He settled at Sheen, in the neighbourhood of the Earl of Leicester's seat at Richmond,¹ and devoted the next two years to the idle, easy-going life which was so suited to his temperament, and for which he was qualified by the possession of a comfortable fortune.² He passed much of his time about town, and when not employed in attendance at Court, devoted himself to the laying out of his palatial grounds at Sheen.³ Such was his employment in the plague-stricken summer of 1665, when he was suddenly called from his vineyards and orangeries to make his first essay upon the field of European diplomacy.

¹ The Temples and Sidneys were united by long-standing ties of friendship.

² Courtenay, i. 29.

³ Temple occupied himself chiefly in the cultivation of wall fruit, which Evelyn describes as "the most excellent nailed and trained—far better than ever I noted it."

CHAPTER III

FIRST DIPLOMATIC MISSION

TEMPLE had not gone to London in 1663 with the sole object of beautifying a country house. His successful *début* as an Irish politician had whetted his appetite for public affairs. An honest man, yet never unmindful of his interest, he had resolved to make a name for himself in the service of the State; and it was this consideration which probably dictated his early withdrawal from the cramped area of political life in Dublin. London offered a finer field and wider facilities for political advancement. His friendship with Ormonde now stood him in good stead; for the Lord-Lieutenant was grateful to "the only man in Ireland who had never asked for anything," and readily furnished him with letters of introduction to Clarendon¹ and Arlington,² the two Ministers at this time most in favour at the Court of Charles II. These letters were couched in terms of the strongest commendation, and were the passport by which Temple obtained access to the Court during his stay in the Metropolis.

During his two years of seeming idleness at Sheen, Temple was in reality awaiting events. Ormonde

¹ Lord Chancellor, and Chief Minister of the Crown.

² Secretary of State.

had given him his introduction at Court; but Ormonde was in Dublin, and it was necessary for an aspirant for honours in the reign of Charles II. to secure a powerful patron who had access to the King. The decade which was ushered in by the "happy Restoration" was not a period when a young man of no particular standing could rely upon his own merits for success in public life. Temple, moreover, was not happily equipped. The recollection of the regicidal propensities of his kinsmen was scarcely calculated to advance his prospects even with a monarch who was accused of having proclaimed an act of "Indemnity for his enemies and Oblivion for his friends." Temple needed a friend at Court. Clarendon was at this time at the head of affairs, but the old Chancellor had failed to learn the lesson of his exile, and, unlike his master, was prepared to set out for a second time upon his travels sooner than recognise the change which had come over the Court and the people of England. Clarendon's ascendancy was accordingly shaken, and his position as chief adviser to the King had been assumed by a younger and more versatile rival, Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington. To Arlington Temple now attached himself, and his appointment to the Münster embassy was the reward of his discernment.

Temple had apprised Arlington at an early period of their acquaintance of his desire for diplomatic employment; he stipulated, however, that the latter should not involve residence in a Northern climate. This reservation, which must probably be ascribed to his "splenetic" temperament, was the cause of his

being passed over in the appointment which was shortly afterwards made to the Court of Sweden. In 1665 the desired opportunity occurred, which was to introduce Temple into the diplomatic service. England was now engaged in the first of Charles II.'s wars with the United Provinces. The war had opened well for the English; but the ravages of the plague, the maladministration of the Admiralty, and the undisguised hostility of France, were already occasioning anxiety as to the issue. It was at such a moment that the petty resentment and ambition of a wayward German prelate aroused hope in the breasts of Charles II. and his Ministers, of securing effective co-operation by land in the campaign against the Hollanders.

Christoph Bernhard von Galen, Prince-Bishop of Münster, is now a forgotten name in history, but in the middle of the seventeenth century this truculent ecclesiastic was enabled to play a not wholly insignificant part in the politics of Europe. Enraged by an interference on the part of the Dutch in the affairs of his see, he offered his alliance to Charles II., and engaged, in consideration of a subsidy of 500,000 rix-dollars, to be paid in three instalments, to raise his army to a war footing, and to assail the eastern territory of the United Provinces with 20,000 men. The English Ministry caught at his proposal, and at the moment when Opdam was perishing amidst the wreck of his fleet off the coast of East Anglia, Arlington entered into a treaty in London with the Bishop's representative. It was determined to accredit an English envoy to Münster, and Arlington immediately fixed upon Temple for the post.

This time Temple did not refuse. Aroused from his bed at an early hour to wait upon the Secretary, and left in ignorance, owing to the necessity for secrecy, of the nature of his proposed employment, he placed himself wholly in Arlington's hands, and at the latter's advice accepted the appointment. His instructions were to assure the Bishop of money and confidence, and thus to encourage him to fulfil his engagements. He was also to further the creation of a league against France amongst the Princes of Germany.

The mission upon which Temple thus embarked was far from being a promising one for a young man desirous of displaying diplomatic ability; it involved, moreover, separation from his wife and family, who were now exposed to the dangers of the plague in the neighbourhood of London. In July, however, Temple proceeded to Koesfeld, where the Bishop was residing, and was fully satisfied with the results of his first interview with that potentate. He reassured our ally as to the pending arrival of the second instalment of his subsidy, and received in return assurances that the Bishop would "perform all points of the treaty with truth, plainness, and *like a German*." The extent to which the "mitred brigand" fulfilled the first part of this engagement may be open to question; but that he was not unacquainted with the spirit and essence of Teutonic diplomacy will be readily granted by any one who compares his subsequent conduct with the behaviour of Prussia towards her Polish and British allies in the early years of the Revolutionary War. In the subtleties of statecraft Temple was, in fact, no match

for this "slim" ecclesiastic, whose personality he has described so fully in his earliest official reports of his mission. The character of Von Galen is now solely a matter of antiquarian interest, and need not detain us; our inexperienced diplomatist, moreover, soon had ample reason to reconsider the favourable estimate which he had at first recorded of him. It was not long before the Bishop exhibited symptoms of disaffection. On various pretexts he managed to postpone active co-operation in the war until the intervention of Louis XIV. on the side of Holland gave him a plausible excuse for withdrawing his troops. In the hope, nevertheless, of obtaining the final instalment of the subsidy, he still adhered to his original professions of warlike zeal, and it was not until April that, without consulting the English envoy, he signed a separate peace.

Temple was at Brussels, where he had lately obtained his appointment as Resident, when he received the first news of the impending defection. He immediately set out for Münster, and arrived there after an adventurous journey by way of Düsseldorf and Dortmund.¹ It was at one of the Bishop's castles in the neighbourhood of the latter place that he was initiated into the ecclesiastical method of drinking out of a large silver bell with the clapper removed—a procedure, however, which his customary caution forbade him to imitate. At Münster he was received with cordiality by the Bishop, who gave a feast in honour of the envoy whom Charles had accredited as *oratorem nostrum*.

¹ For an account of his adventures, see his letter to Sir John Temple, "Works," i. 261. Temple always uses the New Style in writing.

Temple's enjoyment of the meal was, however, impaired by the news, which arrived as he sat down to dinner, that the Bishop had already signed peace with the United Provinces at Cleves. The truth was out; but the pertinacious prelate made a final attempt to recover the last instalment of his subsidy. Learning that bills of exchange from England were already on their way, he endeavoured on various pretexts to detain Temple at Münster and, when the latter insisted upon immediate departure, represented the dangerous state of the roads, and advised the envoy to make a long and circuitous journey by way of Cologne. But Temple's confidence in the man who performed all his engagements "like a German" had at last been shattered, and he found means to circumvent the Bishop's designs by a secret matutinal departure, the discomfort of which must have been accentuated materially by the fact that in the mortification of his disappointment he had deviated somewhat over-night from his customary temperance. After fifty hours' severe travelling amid considerable difficulties, with nothing to rest upon but a bed of straw, he arrived at Brussels, and was in time to warn the English agents against any further disbursement.

Thus ended Temple's first diplomatic mission. It would be absurd to pretend that he had been successful in his object. He had, it is true, enjoyed his revenge by outwitting his host in the manner of his going, but it is clear that throughout his embassy he had been at the mercy of superior skill. England gained nothing from the Münster alliance in return for the subsidies she had expended so lavishly. The real interest of this diplomatic interlude lies in the

insight which it gives us into Temple's personality and his methods of procedure. All the most striking features which characterise his actions in his later diplomacy may be observed in his conduct of the Münster negotiations.

It must be confessed that some of the traits which are displayed in Temple's correspondence on his first official mission are not such as to increase our affection for the man. He was, indeed, in many ways admirably suited for a diplomatic post. The pertinacity with which he essayed the almost impossible task of keeping Von Galen to the fulfilment of his promises, and the good-humoured style in which he recounts the discomforts and dangers of his departure from Münster are, as Mr Courtenay truly says, "indications of mental as well as bodily activity, and of a commendable zeal in the performance of his duty."¹ On the other hand, his mercurial temperament, exemplified by his periodical fits of the "spleen,"² must have made him rather a trying subordinate for Arlington, his patron. It is in his relations with Arlington, indeed, that he appears to least advantage, his letters to the Secretary being couched alternately in terms of carping complaint and preposterous adulation. Inordinately sensitive, not to say vain, Temple was certainly too prone to consider himself aggrieved. His expostulations as to the irregularity of the arrival of his allowance are reasonable enough, though his lot in this respect was no worse than

¹ Courtenay, i. 61.

² For Temple's own description of the nature of this malady, see his essay on *Health and Long Life*, "Works," iii. 300. (References to the "Works" of Temple are taken throughout from the edition of 1770.)

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that of the other diplomatists who served Charles II. ; but the same cannot be said of his reproaches to Arlington upon the despatch of Lord Carlingford to the Emperor, a mission which he chose to regard, with apparently no justification, as a diminution of his own credentials. His own relation of his demeanour towards Carlingford during the latter's stay at Brussels betrays only too plainly his fondness for nursing an imaginary grievance, and suggests that it was Carlingford rather than himself, who had cause for remonstrance. It is to the credit of Arlington, a Minister whose memory has been loaded by later ages with some undeserved obloquy, that he refrained from taking offence at the complaints of his *protégé*, and paid no more attention to these outbursts of spleen than he did to the grotesque and obsequious flattery which frequently accompanied them.

Of Temple's conduct of the actual negotiations we need say very little. He had scant opportunity for displaying his undoubted talent and *finesse* in this line. We mark, however, the same protestations of candour and openness, and the same tendency to trust overmuch to similar professions in others, which are characteristic of his later diplomacy.

The interest attaching to the Münster negotiations is thus solely biographical. It is pleasant to record that their failure had no adverse influence upon Temple's career. The young diplomatist was at first somewhat exercised as to how his conduct would be represented at Court, but Arlington hastened to assure him that "His Majesty was entirely satisfied with his proceedings." The good-will of the King

and of the Secretary of State took a practical form, in the shape of the appointment of Temple to the embassy which he had always coveted, and which he had solicited from Arlington at the very time when he was first engaged on the negotiations at Münster. In October 1665 he was nominated Minister-Resident at Brussels, and in January 1666 was gratified by the additional honour of a Baronetcy. Thus he was already provided with an honourable post when his adventurous journey from Münster in April brought to a close his first excursion into European diplomacy.

CHAPTER IV

EMBASSY AT BRUSSELS AND TRIPLE ALLIANCE

THE first news which greeted Temple on his return to Brussels in April 1666 was that his wife and children, with his sister, Lady Giffard, had escaped the dangers alike of the plague in England and of the passage overseas, and had now landed in safety at Ostend.¹ The family were thus reunited at Brussels, where they were to remain during the first part of the period which was to witness the most brilliant episode of Temple's career.

The diplomatic post to which Temple had now been appointed was perhaps the most important at the disposal of the Government. The very geographical position of Flanders, even leaving out of account the designs now maturing in the brain of Louis XIV. against the integrity of the dominions of the Catholic King, would have sufficed to make that province in the seventeenth century, as at most periods of her history, the "cockpit of Europe." The international situation in the spring of 1666 was dangerous and intricate. England and Holland were still at war, and it was as yet uncertain to which

¹ Courtenay, i. 81.

of the combatants the balance of success would eventually incline. By the terms of the treaty of 1662, Louis XIV. was pledged to come to the assistance of Holland in case of attack, and he now made a half-hearted intervention in the war on behalf of the Dutch.¹ At Brussels, accordingly, Temple was placed in the territory of a great neutral power, enclosed between those of two powerful enemies. The experience to be gained in such a post could not fail to be excellent training in the school of diplomacy.

Spain had adopted an attitude of neutrality towards the struggle now raging in the Channel and the North Sea. Temple's functions accordingly were chiefly those of observation and report. There was set before him, however, one task requiring tact and ingenuity, the promotion of a good understanding between England and the vice-regal Court. Co-operation between England and Spain was, indeed, manifestly to the advantage of both states concerned. The Franco-Dutch combination was threatening alike to the naval supremacy of England and to the stability of the Hapsburg dominions in Flanders. Spain, moreover, had a further grievance against Louis XIV., the more or less open support which he continued to offer to the House of Braganza, contributing to keep open the "running sore" of her conflict with Portugal. Hence Charles II. and his Ministers hoped much from the negotiations then in progress at Madrid, under the auspices of Lord Sandwich, for the conclusion of a treaty between England and Spain.

¹ France declared war against England, 26th January 1666.

The main interest of the year 1666 lies in the development of the international problems which were to reach their *dénouement* in the following year. Temple had several interviews¹ with the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo, Governor of the Netherlands for Charles II., the boy-King of Spain ; but the negotiations between the two states hung fire upon the question of the recognition of Alphonso VI. as King of Portugal, and little progress was made towards the desired end. With the Marquis Temple established relations of cordial friendship, and did what he could to facilitate the negotiations at Madrid. The discussions which took place at the interviews between them are of little importance, though schemes were devised of common action against France. Some of the projects which Temple entertained appear rather chimerical, and are scarcely worthy of consideration ; as, for example, his idea that Guienne might be induced to revolt from France and return to its former allegiance to the Crown of England.² The Resident, indeed, seems to have held somewhat exaggerated notions as to the influence of the English Fleet upon the affairs of Europe. Less deserving of criticism are his observations upon the likelihood of a revolution in Holland, and later events were to bear out the accuracy of the opinions he expressed. For the present, however, the Anglo-Dutch conflict showed no signs of abatement. The indecisive "Four Days' Battle" in June was followed by the great sea-fight off the North Foreland in August, and the close of the campaign of 1666 left the English masters

¹ Courtenay, i. 68-74.

² Letters in State Paper Office, dated 14th and 21st August 1665.

of the narrow seas. Had this success been followed up by energetic action, England might have brought the war to a speedy and honourable ending.

In the meantime Temple devoted all his ingenuity to devising schemes for a pacification with Holland ; at the same time he desired, if possible, to embroil that power with France. Little success at first attended his efforts ; though the Pensionary, De Witt, whose supremacy in the United Provinces was still unshaken, was already becoming disillusioned as to the benefits bestowed upon Holland by the French alliance. Temple, however, was ignorant of the doubts which were agitating De Witt, and still persisted in his original belief that the malice of the Grand Pensionary was "an incurable disease." Hence he held that the best method of securing peace lay in stirring up public opinion in Holland at once against the French connection and the Grand Pensionary himself. It was with this end in view that on Arlington's suggestion he composed a small pamphlet,¹ disguised in the form of "A London Merchant's Letter to him of Amsterdam," in which the dangers accruing to Holland from the policy of her rulers and their intimacy with France is the subject of discussion. The exact contents of this pamphlet are unfortunately unknown, nor can anything be said as to its political effects ; but Charles II. paid its author the compliment of professing to have read it and to think it well written. We may assume that it was so, for of such matters Charles was by no means a contemptible judge. An interesting light is thrown upon the sincerity of Temple's professions

¹ Published about August 1666.

of candour and openness, and the construction he put upon the epithet "plain man," which he was wont to apply to himself, by another of the schemes which he formulated at this period for obtaining peace with the Dutch. The latter are to be contented with a regulation of commerce, or (better) with no regulation at all, "the last of which will give us more pretence if we have a mind upon any occasion hereafter to awe them with the fear of a new war, which I doubt not will, after a peace once concluded, bring them to reason much better than a continuance of this."¹ In the light of such a proposal as this Temple can scarcely be acquitted of adopting the same outlook upon international morality as other successful members of his profession. Similar criticism may be passed upon his suggestion of engaging in a joint negotiation with the Dutch and their allies, and separating them during the business by making difficulties with the French. Such proceedings are doubtless justifiable, not to say inevitable, in international concerns, but they accord ill with Temple's lifelong professions of diplomatic straightforwardness.

Thus the negotiations with Holland and Spain dragged wearily on through the winter of 1666-67. Events, however, were now at hand which were to produce a change in the European situation,—a change which attracted no less attention at the time than the famous diplomatic revolution of the following century. In the early summer of 1667 Louis XIV. invaded Flanders, and, in accordance with what was known as the Flemish law of Devolution,² declared

¹ To Arlington, 28th September 1666 (State Paper Office).

² Louis's claim was based upon the preposterous assumption that

the Spanish Netherlands united to France. The full peril of the Dutch position became suddenly apparent. De Witt had, indeed, by his alliance with Louis brought the United Provinces to the verge of ruin. It is difficult to say what would have been the wisest policy for the Grand Pensionary to have adopted in his foreign relations. Let us pause for a moment to observe how perilous was the position of the Netherlands. Depending for prosperity upon the supremacy of her maritime trade, Holland found herself menaced in the latter half of the seventeenth century by the growth of the commercial wealth of England. Nor was the latter her only dangerous rival : France had now adopted the system of Colbert, and, aspiring also to be a maritime power, was threatening the Dutch monopoly by her trading companies and commercial restrictions. From one or other of these two great powers it was evident that Holland was in danger of destruction.

De Witt recognised the peril which confronted his country, but it may be questioned whether he selected the wisest course to avert it. By trimming the balance between England and France he only made inevitable his ultimate ruin. His policy, it is true, achieved some startling successes. The Dutch entered the Medway at the very time when Louis embarked upon the invasion of Flanders, and London was overawed by the sound of their guns. In the following year

the Flemish law of private tenures decided the inheritance of the Sovereignty of Flanders. He thus declared himself possessed of the Netherlands in the right of his wife, Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV. of Spain by his first marriage, the boy-King, Charles II., being the issue of a second marriage of that monarch.

their Government had the satisfaction of checking France in her career of encroachment. But these events only made a day of reckoning more certain. In endeavouring to ally himself alternately with each of his powerful adversaries in resistance to the other, De Witt merely succeeded in alienating both of them. Already the event of 1672 might not dimly be foreseen.

With the outbreak of the "Devolution War" De Witt awoke to the realisation of his initial mistake. Spain was no longer dangerous to Holland: the Bourbon, not the Hapsburg, had become a menace to Europe. Louis had now thrown off the mask, and it was evident that the annexation of Flanders would be but a preliminary to the absorption of the Netherlands. De Witt looked round in search of allies, and found himself engaged in war with the only power which could offer Holland any adequate assistance. His realisation of the necessity for peace is the first step in the policy which led to the Triple Alliance.

The early part of 1667 was occupied with the negotiations which ended at Breda. In these negotiations Temple himself took little part, but some of his ideas as to a desirable policy for England to adopt may be briefly put in summary. In one of his letters of this time¹ he takes it for granted that, England and France being still at war, it is advisable to foster the rupture between Louis and Spain. England is to hint to France her displeasure at the slowness of Spanish diplomacy, and her intention not to interfere with French action in Flanders; thus France is to

¹ To Arlington, 3rd May 1667 (State Paper Office).

be precipitated into the conflict, and at the suitable moment England is to intervene on behalf of the Spaniards. This is but one of the numerous speculations with which Temple at this time kept plying the Secretary. He seems to have been in the habit of placing in his despatches every thought which came into his head at the moment, and was apparently regardless of consistency of purpose. Thus at one time we find him advocating alliance with Spain, at another he entertains hope of "falling into a league with the Emperor and Holland," and yet again he suggests that England should "find her account with the French." In the light of these many and varied suggestions it is a little difficult to acquiesce in the verdict of simplicity which has usually been passed upon Temple's diplomacy.

In the meantime he solicited leave to proceed to Breda, where the Ambassadors of England, Holland, France, and Denmark¹ were now in conference. It is in his correspondence relating to this visit that we find the first germs of a settled policy. Putting aside his original distrust of De Witt, he now suggests that England and Holland should, upon the conclusion of peace, make a joint mediation in regard to the differences between France and Spain, and by their common action effect a renewal of mutual confidence which must result in the "loosing" of Holland from France.² Arlington acknowledged the soundness of the course proposed, but Temple was not entrusted with the conduct of the negotiations for peace. These

¹ Denmark had merely joined in the war as an ally of the Dutch.

² To Arlington, 15th July 1667; quoted in Courtenay, i. 111.

were concluded in July 1667,¹ the four powers involved signing treaties of mutual amity, and the second Dutch war was brought to a close.

The initial difficulties had thus been removed which had barred the way to that joint intervention of England and Holland upon the success of which Temple had now set his heart. But there were other obstacles to the realisation of this project besides the mutual distrust existing between the powers who had lately been at war. Unknown to his Ambassador, Charles II. had already pledged himself by the word of a king, "que je n'ai pris jusqu'ici et ne prendrai d'une année entière aucune nouvelle liaison avec aucun roi, prince, ou potentat, qui soit ou puisse être contraire à la France ou par laquelle je puisse être engagé contre ses intérêts."² Thus, at the very moment when the European powers appeared to have composed their differences and to be free to intervene for the protection of Flanders, Louis found himself already secured against the co-operation of England. Trusting, perhaps, too blindly to the faith of Charles II., Louis made a triumphal progress in the summer of 1667 through the towns of the Netherlands. The successes of the French arms were indeed so remarkable that Temple found it advisable to send away his wife with her children to England to guard against their being involved in

¹ Both parties were to remain *in statu quo*. Thus Holland retained Poleroon, and England Albany and New York. The English signatories were Lord Holles (one of the "five members" of 1642) and Henry Coventry.

² This pledge is contained in a letter from Charles to his mother, Henrietta Maria, written early in 1667.

the stress of a siege.¹ To all appeals, however, for aid against France, Charles II. and his Ministers turned a deaf ear, and the interests of Louis XIV. obtained day by day a more powerful voice in the counsels of England. De Witt, meanwhile, became more and more distrustful of the actions of his ally, and more anxious to engage Charles in a league for the defence of the Low Countries.

Such was the uncertainty of the political situation when the caprice of Lady Giffard, who had remained with her brother after the departure of her sister-in-law, prevailed upon Temple to make a journey in Holland. In September 1667 the tour began, Temple having obtained permission from his Government and travelling *incognito*. From Amsterdam they proceeded to The Hague, where Temple commenced that intimacy with De Witt which in a few short weeks was to bear so remarkable a fruit. The story of their first meeting has been recounted by Temple himself in a letter² to his brother. "I told him who I was, but that having passed unknown through the country to all but himself, I desired I might do so still. My only business was to see the things most considerable in the country, and I thought I should lose my credit if I left it without seeing *him*. He took my compliment very well, and returned it by saying he had received a character of me to my advantage." This favourable beginning was followed up by an interview, in the course of which the acquaintance quickly ripened into intimacy. After mutual con-

¹ Courtenay, i. 113.

² 10th October 1667. As will be seen from this example, Temple excelled as a letter-writer. ("Works," i. 305.)

gratulations upon the termination of the war, the talk, as was natural, turned upon the crisis in Flanders. The terms in which the Grand Pensionary spoke of the event, and the eagerness with which he advocated joint action by Holland and England, were plain indications of the anxiety with which he regarded the progress of Louis. The interview lasted for over two hours, and it is interesting to recall Temple's impressions of the meeting. "I judge Mr De Witt either to be a plain, steady man, or very artificial in seeming so; more properly *homme de bon sens* than *homme d'esprit*, pointing still to that which is solid in business, and not to be imposed upon easily. These I take to be his talents, so that whoever deals with him must go the same plain way that he pretends to in his negotiations, without refining or colouring, or offering shadow for substance."¹ Temple, as we have remarked, was prone to trust overmuch to assurances of straightforwardness in others, and the above description of the Pensionary De Witt may recall his first impressions of the supple Von Galen. This time, however, he had no occasion to reverse his early judgment, and his verdict was soon to be remarkably justified by the startling success with which he put his beliefs into action.

At the above-recorded interview Temple, who had no authority to speak on behalf of his Government, was careful and guarded in his speech. Not so De Witt; he was under no such obligations to a superior power, and the Englishman was consequently amazed by the openness of his expressions. Temple lost no time in communicating this conversation to Arlington,

¹ To Arlington, 5th October 1667 (State Paper Office).

whose position in the Ministry was now further strengthened by the dismissal of Clarendon.¹ The Secretary, however, was in no hurry to meet the advances of De Witt, for Charles, as it happened, had already offered to Louis the advantage of a separate mediation. Louis XIV. had no fear of an Anglo-Dutch agreement; indeed, he had originally promoted the conclusion of peace in order to separate England from Spain, with whom she was naturally connected by the continuance of the war.² His confidence, however, was shaken by the increasing coldness of De Witt, and it was this consideration, in all probability, which dictated the secret agreement into which he now entered with the Emperor for the eventual partition of the Spanish dominions.³ The fate of Flanders hung upon the determination of England, and that determination was now taken with a suddenness which was amazing even in seventeenth-century diplomacy. In the autumn of 1667 Parliament met, and the discontent of the country with the existing administration became speedily apparent. The assault on the Government was not confined to the attack upon Clarendon; Arlington also came in for his share. At this

¹ The significance of this event seems to have been misunderstood by Temple. It appears that he regarded the fall of the Chancellor as symbolic of a change in the policy of Charles in favour of Spain instead of France. There is nothing in the correspondence of Clarendon to bear out this belief; and, indeed, even after the Chancellor's dismissal, Charles was still prepared, as we have seen, for an alliance with Louis. (See Temple's letter to Arlington in State Paper Office, 16th September 1667.)

² Courtenay, i. 125.

³ Concluded 19th January 1668. For details of this treaty, as generally believed, see Courtenay, vol. ii., Appendix V., pp. 436-40.

ominous conjuncture the Ministers seem to have felt that their popularity could only be restored by a conspicuous departure from the policy hitherto pursued, and in December 1667 Temple received a despatch from the Secretary foreshadowing a complete reversal of English foreign relations. The policy which Temple had so strongly recommended was to be put into action.

The instructions which Temple received on Christmas Day, 1667, were of the highest importance. He was directed to repair immediately to The Hague and ascertain from personal communication with De Witt "whether the States would really and effectively enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with us for the protection of the Spanish Netherlands,"¹ Temple was to point out the dangers to Holland from the aggression of Louis, to discover whether the States were prepared to join with England even in a campaign against Louis himself, and at the same time to throw out a hint of the possibility, in the event of a refusal by the States, of an alliance being formed between England and France. De Witt was at the same time to be reassured that "the consideration of the interests of the Prince of Orange should not at all interfere with the great interests betwixt the nations."² Finally, the King himself, by the mouth of his envoy, assured the Grand Pensionary that "his personal honour and engagement were the best security he was willing to depend upon in the negotiations."

Overjoyed with his commission, Temple lost no

¹ Instructions dated 25th November 1667 (O.S.).

² *Ibid.*

time in proceeding to The Hague. He at once proposed to De Witt the execution of a defensive and offensive agreement. De Witt received him with great cordiality, and expressed his desire for a *defensive* understanding, pointing out, however, that it was a fundamental maxim of Dutch diplomacy never to conclude an *offensive* alliance. He also explained that it was his intention at the moment to mediate between Spain and France with a view to compelling the latter power to make peace upon the terms already offered by Louis—viz., the retention by France of the conquests she had made in the late campaign, or her acceptance in their stead of certain towns in Flanders, together with Luxemburg or the County of Burgundy. Temple took exception to the honour as well as to the safety of this plan of mediation, and hinted not obscurely at the possibility of co-operation between England and France, unless Holland could be induced to offer joint intervention with England in order to obtain more satisfactory terms. He was not, however, authorised to come to any definite conclusion with De Witt; accordingly, accompanied by the indefatigable Lady Giffard, he hastened home to lay his report before the King. At the English Court he exerted himself to dispel the unfavourable idea which had been conceived of De Witt, for the dissemination of which Sir George Downing, English Ambassador at The Hague, had been primarily responsible. In this effort he was supported in the Council not only by Arlington but by the Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and the issue of a fateful meeting of Ministers held on the 1st of January (N.S.) of the New Year was that

Charles resolved to accede to De Witt's desire for a *defensive* alliance. Temple accordingly re-embarked for The Hague in the royal yacht which had been granted him for this purpose, and after an exceptionally perilous passage, in the course of which it seemed for some time inevitable that the vessel must be lost, presented himself for the third time before the Grand Pensionary.

Temple had now received clearer and more definite instructions and full authority to arrive at an agreement. The project as conceived by Charles, who seems to have had quite as much to do with its framing as any of his Ministers, embraced the conclusion of a defensive alliance and a joint mediation with the object of *obliging* Louis to make peace immediately upon the terms he had offered, and of *persuading*¹ Spain, if she raised any objections, to a similar course. Spain was to be advised to allow France to retain the captured towns rather than resign the equivalent suggested by Louis. Finally, England would still be prepared to assist the Spaniards in the Netherlands even if Holland should not accede to the treaty, provided only that Spain should furnish Charles with the adequate resources. Thus throughout the instructions, the interests of France were entirely disregarded.

The dealings between Temple and De Witt were straightforward and simple. After recapitulating what had passed between them at their interview in the autumn, whilst De Witt nodded assent to each

¹ The word *force* had been used in the first draft of the instructions, but Charles declined to allow it to stand. "From the indecency of the word *force*, I would willingly have it left out" was his marginal comment.

point as he mentioned it and thanked him for the exactness of his mode of procedure, Temple informed the Grand Pensionary that Charles II. had decided to accede to his suggestion of a defensive alliance. De Witt showed evident surprise at the speed with which the King of England had taken him at his word, and was certainly not prepared for so sudden a step; he did not, however, attempt to draw back from his original words, but merely observed that France had now given him hopes of success in his own separate mediation. De Witt was indeed placed in a difficult position by Temple's proposal, for, as he knew, there was considerable difference of opinion even amongst the States themselves as to the line of policy to be pursued; and, moreover, he was uncertain how much trust to place in the sudden professions of friendship on the part of a power with which the United Provinces had so lately been at war. By accepting the English alliance he would inevitably alienate Louis XIV., and the only result of such a measure might be to place Holland between an unscrupulous enemy and a friend liable to prove faithless in the hour of need.

All this De Witt, with a praiseworthy candour, set clearly before the English Ambassador. Temple in return enlarged upon the dangers to Holland from the aggression of Louis, and the certainty that "the States' part would be next after Flanders was gone."¹ The force of this argument was fully recognised by De Witt, but he did not conceal from Temple his distrust of the stability of English counsels. "No man," he said, "knew how long they might last; he

¹ Temple to Bridgeman, January 1668 (N.S.).

any previous consultation with the States, and on 23rd January 1668, the document was executed, which, by the formal adhesion of Sweden at a later date, was to become known to history as the Triple Alliance. Thus, in the incredibly short space of five days, Temple had conducted to a successful issue a negotiation which under ordinary management would have lasted for months.

The signature of the treaty was attended by a scene of remarkable enthusiasm, the commissioners and the English plenipotentiary embracing each other with mutual expressions of kindness and regard. The satisfaction which Temple derived from the conclusion of his work may be gauged by the laudatory terms in which he speaks of De Witt. "I must add these words to do him right, that I found him as plain, as direct and square in the course of this business as any man could be, though often stiff in points where he thought any advantage could accrue to his country; and have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with him; and for his industry, no man had ever more, I am sure; for these five days at least, neither of us spent any idle hours, neither day nor night."¹

The conclusion of the alliance was hailed with delight both in England and Holland. We are told² that the receipt of the news in London, whither it was brought by Henry Temple, the negotiator's brother, was the occasion for great demonstrations of joy. The Hague gave itself over to festivities in honour of the event, and a ball was held at which both De Witt and the Prince of Orange were present.

¹ To Arlington, 24th January 1668.

² Boyer, p. 33.

It is recorded that the Grand Pensionary, now at the age of forty-three, "danced the best of any man in the room";¹ but history has yet to ascertain the result of the tennis match in which he and Temple engaged on the following day. The latter being proficient in this special form of recreation, it is probable that he obtained his revenge for the eclipse which he had suffered on the night of the ball.²

Such was the celebrated Triple Alliance which, as his biographer justly remarks, has immortalised the name of Temple.³ Few feats of diplomacy have been so favourably judged at the bar of history. Let us pause for a moment to consider the provisions of this remarkable treaty.⁴ England and Holland signed a perpetual defensive alliance, and agreed upon joint intervention to oblige France and Spain to make peace upon the terms which Louis had offered in 1667. Besides this open and public design there were also secret articles included in the treaty by which the contracting powers bound themselves to make common cause with the King of Spain in an attack upon France, in case she should refuse to accept the proffered terms or endeavour by any subterfuge to evade the conclusion of peace. In that case the powers concerned were pledged to

¹ Campbell's Memoir of De Witt, lx.

² History repeats itself. In more recent times a tennis match has been recorded, with similar reticence as to result, in which the head of a greater republic was matched against a distinguished British representative—this time not of the State, but of the Church.

³ Courtenay, i. 171.

⁴ For the terms of the articles of the Triple Alliance, see "Works," i. 362 *et seq.*; quoted also in Courtenay.

"restore matters to their condition at the time of the peace of the Pyrenees"; in other words, Louis was to be compelled to give up the whole of his conquests in the Netherlands, and receive no compensation whether in Franche Comté or elsewhere.

How far is the Triple Alliance worthy of the praise which has been lavished upon it? For a century after the date of its conclusion scarcely a voice was uplifted in criticism; and though in the nineteenth century it has been less favourably treated, it is still regarded as one of the most remarkable of diplomatic achievements. In Temple's own time it was the object of extravagant laudation: "The only good public thing," notes Pepys, "that has been done since the King came into England."¹ Even the hostile critic, Burnet, who lost few opportunities of decrying its negotiator, says: "It was certainly the masterpiece of King Charles's life; and, if he had stuck to it, it would have been both the strength and the glory of his reign."² A later historian, who, unlike Burnet, certainly did not err on the side of captious criticism, has endorsed the bishop's judgment. "The Triple Alliance," says Macaulay, "seems deserving of all the praise which has been bestowed upon it. . . . It was the single eminently good act performed by the Government between the Restoration and the Revolution." Courtenay himself, Temple's most notable biographer, takes a more moderate view of the merits of the treaty; whilst Dr Lingard, writing at an earlier period, speaks in somewhat disparaging tones of this celebrated measure. The latter argues that,

¹ "Diary," 14th February 1667-68.

² Burnet, Bk. II.

Louis XIV. having himself suggested the terms of peace which were actually adopted, the Triple Alliance compelled him to perform nothing to which he had not already committed himself. With this view Macaulay entirely disagrees. "What was it," he asks, "which obliged Louis to disgorge his conquests in Franche Comté, which he had overrun at the very same time as the signature of the treaty at The Hague? Did the object appear to him small or contemptible? . . . Was he withheld by regard for his word? . . . Can any person doubt that, if the neighbouring powers would have looked quietly on, he would instantly have risen in his demands? How, then, stands the case? He wished to keep Franche Comté. It was not from regard for his word that he ceded Franche Comté. Why, then, did he cede Franche Comté? We answer, as all Europe answered at the time, from fear of the Triple Alliance."¹

Such is Macaulay's opinion of the merits of this treaty in its relation to European affairs. Whether the Triple Alliance did or did not deter Louis from the pursuit of his object, it did at least, as the essayist shows, impress upon the world the belief that it had done so. England's credit abroad was undoubtedly raised by the event. As a measure of domestic policy, too, it had excellent results, being universally popular, and generally looked upon in England as a pledge for better government. But in proportion as it arrested the attention of the people at large, it was regarded with contempt or indifference by those in authority. "For all this noise," remarked Clifford, "we must soon have another

¹ Macaulay, "Essays," p. 436.

war with Holland,"¹ thus expressing very accurately the views of Charles II. and of most members of his Ministry. It is clear, indeed, that the objects of Temple and of his master, in concluding the treaty, were wholly divergent. Whilst Charles was aiming only at temporary popularity, and, in fact, wrote to Louis as soon as he had heard the news, excusing his action on the plea of momentary necessity, Temple really believed that he had negotiated a permanent alliance, and that our policy had been definitely guided in the line which it was to take so successfully some twenty years later. If a sincere co-operation between England and Holland would really have been as profitable in 1668 as it actually proved from 1688 onwards, the fact that Temple was but a passive instrument in the hands of more experienced schemers at home at least makes no detraction from the patriotism of the sentiments by which he was actuated. The mistake which he made in this transaction (an error which De Witt also committed to his cost) was to place too much confidence in the good faith and stability of purpose which guided the diplomacy of Charles II.

But was the policy of alliance with Holland against Louis in 1668 quite so unimpeachable as Macaulay and others would have us suppose? In the light of after events and of the stupendous struggle which England and Holland were destined to wage in union against the aggression of France, it is impossible not to speculate upon the results which might have followed had Charles elected to abide by the policy of the Triple Alliance. It is

¹ Courtenay, i. 262.

fascinating to imagine that Louis might have been checked once and for all in his career of encroachment, and Europe spared the wars of the Grand Alliance and of the Spanish Succession. But in 1668 it was by no means so clear that the interest of England lay in checking the progress of France by supporting the Dutch. An eminent writer¹ upon English foreign policy expresses the view that Temple's achievement in this respect has been somewhat idealised. England had only just emerged from a sanguinary war in which she had suffered the mortification of seeing a Dutch fleet ride at anchor within full view of London. The strongest feeling in this country must inevitably have been a vindictive animosity towards Holland, and the Dutch, moreover, were still, rather than the French, our most dangerous commercial rivals. Holland, in short, was still regarded as the especial enemy of England, and the Cromwellian policy of alliance with France must have appeared to many as the wisest course to adopt. There was much to say for such a policy. Louis and Charles had a close family relationship. The connection between England and France had, with the exception of a few brief interludes, been uniformly friendly since the days of Elizabeth, whilst an alliance with Louis would have enabled Charles not only, as actually happened four years later, to take revenge for the disgrace of Sheerness, but even possibly to have obtained great gains, whether in the Spanish Netherlands or in the dependencies of the Spanish Empire overseas. That Temple should have neglected this

¹ The late Sir John Seeley.

prospect and preferred instead to ally with the Dutch must be attributed, in some measure at least, to his infatuation with the personality of De Witt, for, in the light of some of the suggestions contained in the essay which he wrote three years later upon the constitutions and interests of some of the principal powers of Europe,¹ it is impossible to maintain that his diplomacy was guided solely by a belief in the imperative necessity for both powers of an Anglo-Dutch alliance. The man who confessed in 1671 that our interests abroad might advise us to "join with France upon the advantages they can offer us for the ruin of the Dutch"² can no longer lay claim to the monopoly of political foresight amongst the men of his time, with which he has been credited by a later generation.

Setting aside, however, all speculations as to the relative value to England of a French or a Dutch alliance, it remains apparent that Temple's negotiation of this treaty was a remarkable achievement. Nothing but excellent management of the affair could have brought Holland into an agreement with England so soon after the conclusion of a long and bloody war. When we remember the habitual slowness of Dutch diplomacy, the skill with which Temple prevailed upon their commissioners to undertake the responsibility of signing a treaty without first receiving instructions from the provinces, must excite our admiration. That this unprecedented departure from traditional usage is to be ascribed to the tact and firmness of the English negotiator will not be denied, and the surprise of the French Minister at the con-

¹ "Works," ii. 205-28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

clusion of the treaty is sufficient testimony to the merit of his work. D'Estrades, indeed, had relied upon the forms of the Dutch constitution to delay such an event until after France had been amply forewarned. "D'ici à six semaines nous en parlerons," he had remarked. Yet such was the celerity of Temple's proceedings that a treaty involving issues of the highest importance was brought to a happy conclusion in the course of five days. The credit for this surprising result must be laid to the account of Temple himself. De Witt and the States-General alike wrote¹ to the English Ministry and to Charles II. expressing their satisfaction with Temple's behaviour, and with the simplicity and straightforwardness which had characterised his conduct. The good understanding which he established with the Grand Pensionary by the openness of his proceedings was the primary factor in the success of his work. Burke was not far from the fact when he wrote: "It is true that mutual confidence and common interest dispense with all rules, smooth the rugged way, remove every obstacle, and make all things plain and level. When in the last century Temple and De Witt negotiated the famous Triple Alliance, their candour, their freedom, and the most confidential disclosures were the result of true policy."²

¹ See these letters in Temple's "Works," i. 360, 361.

² Regicide Peace. (Burke's "Works," viii. 333. Ed. 1803.)

CHAPTER V

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, THE HAGUE, AND NIMEGUEN

THE negotiation of the Triple Alliance had raised the fame of Temple to an extraordinary height, but the thanks he received from the Government at home were not commensurate with the esteem with which he was regarded abroad. His friends advised him to solicit rewards, but, as he himself observed in a letter to Lord Halifax,¹ "he knew not how to ask, or why, and that was not an age where anything was given without it."² Temple's judgment was perfectly correct, and he received no gratification, whether in honours or money, from the Government he served.

He remained throughout February at The Hague, discussing the terms of a commercial settlement to which he had promised the States to devote his attention. The negotiations were not concluded without a certain strain having been placed upon the blind confidence which De Witt now reposed in the English plenipotentiary. Arlington and the English Government would not have been sorry to evade the settlement of commercial difficulties, and

¹ Sir George Savile, the famous "trimmer."

² To Halifax, 2nd March 1667-68.

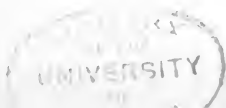
Temple was hampered in his efforts to confirm the new accord by the dilatory proceedings of the Secretary of State. He succeeded, however, in accomplishing the task to the satisfaction alike of himself and of De Witt; and his mission being now concluded by the complete re-establishment of mutual confidence, he left The Hague and returned to Brussels.

Already, early in February, the English Parliament had met, and the belief now began to be expressed that Charles would appoint Temple a Minister of the Crown. The report, however, was premature; and though we learn from a letter which he wrote at this time to the Lord Keeper, Bridgeman,¹ that he would have welcomed such a post, the offer took no definite shape, and Temple was destined instead for the conference at Aix-la-Chapelle. Thither he proceeded on 24th April, his journey being marked by extraordinary demonstrations of trust and regard at every town through which he passed.² Speeches and banquets were the order of the day, and we are not surprised to learn that Temple, whose abstemiousness was conspicuous in an age of intemperance, was labouring under "severe indisposition"³ on his arrival at Aix. The negotiations which there took place were distinguished by the customary chicanery and ill-humour which were characteristic of diplomatic etiquette in the Europe of the Grand Monarque. The Spanish Minister, Baron de Berjeyck, was the first to raise trivial objections to the terms of the

¹ 12th February 1667-68. ("Works," i. 351.) "I shall only say that it would be as agreeable to my inclinations as anything I know."

² Courtenay, i. 219-20.

³ Courtenay, i. 220.



treaty ; nor was the actual process of signature accomplished without considerable unpleasantness. The Baron, when he came to sign, discovered that Colbert, the French Ambassador, had accomplished the redoubtable feat of scrawling out his name at such length as to cover the whole width of the paper, and had thus left no space for the Spanish representative to attach his signature except underneath. Berjeyck declined to sign under these conditions, refusing to recognise inequality with the Ambassador of France, and twodays were wasted before matters were adjusted. Temple at this time was confined to his house, and the conflicts between French *emportement* and Spanish *punctilio* must have been provoking enough ; but his irritation probably reached its height when the Ministers prepared to exchange ratifications of the treaty, and such was the violence of their mutual recriminations that Messrs Berjeyck and Beverning, as he tells us, were "several times upon the point of drawing swords in his room."¹ The truculent language of these sensitive foreigners must have been the occasion of considerable apprehension to Temple, whose natural languor was increased by his illness ; and it was probably with feelings of genuine relief that he was able to lay down his distasteful commission when the ceremonies relating to the treaty had been finally performed.²

We need not linger over the provisions of the treaty of Aix. They were, on the whole, unfavourable to Spain. The terms upon which she obtained peace from France were not reassuring. Unwilling

¹ To Arlington, 8th May 1668. ("Works," i. 443.)

² The treaty was concluded on 2nd May 1668.

to act on the advice of her allies, she elected to sacrifice all the towns in the Netherlands which Louis had conquered in the previous year, rather than give up Franche Comté with a few towns in Flanders. For the sake of preserving a small province which was bound to remain always at the mercy of France, she gave up a large strip of territory in the Netherlands, and thus rendered the remaining portion of that opulent dependency still less susceptible of defence than it had been originally. Henceforth the Netherlands as well as Franche Comté were at the mercy of Louis. Temple judged rightly when he wrote: "I cannot pretend to guess what is like to become of a peace which both France and Spain come to so unwillingly, and which England and Holland promote upon conditions which they both dislike."¹ Half a century was to elapse before the political destiny of the Low Countries was to be temporarily settled at the peace of Utrecht, and Spain would have acted more wisely had she renounced her sovereign rights entirely in 1668 than she did in retaining them upon the conditions existing after Aix-la-Chapelle.

Temple was now appointed Ambassador at The Hague. No diplomatic post could have been more congenial, and his new position must have recompensed him for the absence of any titular dignity in recognition of his services. He obtained permission to return first to England, where he was received in audience by the King, and enjoyed the satisfaction of finding his conduct the theme of

¹ To the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, 23rd March 1667-68. ("Works," i. 417.)

universal approbation.¹ He hesitated for a time before accepting the new embassy, owing to a certain diffidence as to the possibility of maintaining the new line of policy. He had somewhat lost faith in the stability of Charles II.'s diplomacy, despite his protestations to the contrary when negotiating with De Witt; and he was, moreover, aware that he had incurred the hostility of the Treasurer Clifford, and of other public men.² His scruples were, however, overcome by the representations of his father and of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and at the end of August 1668 he was back again in Holland.

The years which Temple spent as Ambassador at The Hague appear to have passed on the whole agreeably, though his peace of mind was somewhat exercised by the niggardliness of his allowance and the lack of conciseness contained in his instructions. He was also troubled by questions of precedence and etiquette, to which he himself attributed but slight importance, but which he was compelled to consider owing to the attitude of his Court towards these trifles.³ The difficulties of his situation were, however, materially relieved by his excellent relations with De Witt, with whom he remained united upon terms of closest intimacy. Indeed, but for this fortunate fact his position must have become delicate sooner than was actually the case, for there were diplomatic questions still at issue between England and Holland. Temple had been enjoined by the King⁴ to pay special attention to the young Prince

¹ Courtenay, i. 259.

² *Ibid.*, 263.

³ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁴ For his instructions, see Longe Papers, vol. i., quoted in Courtenay, i. 276.

of Orange, a shy and reserved youth already disclosing the indomitable persistence which was to support him for thirty years in his struggle with France. It is much to Temple's credit that he was successful in this task, involving, as it did, the exercise of great skill and management. He had also difficult negotiations to conduct for the conclusion of an equitable "Marine Treaty" between the two powers, and for the inclusion of Spain in a quadruple alliance, but this last project came to nothing. In 1669 he was called upon to mediate in his private capacity¹ in a pecuniary dispute between Holland and Portugal, and performed this delicate duty to the satisfaction of both parties.² In the following year he was entrusted with the performance of a more ungrateful task, being instructed to demand from the Dutch Government the surrender of the obnoxious Cornet Joyce. In this, however, he was unsuccessful, for the magistrates of Rotterdam, to whom the Ambassador was referred by the States, evaded the dishonour of compliance by conniving at the fugitive's escape.

Meanwhile, Temple had frequent discussions with De Witt upon the state of affairs in Europe, and did his best to assure the Grand Pensionary of the stability of the English alliance; at the same time, however, he let fall hints of the danger which might threaten the policy initiated by himself and De Witt should some "less far-sighted prince" replace

¹ "Non pas comme ambassadeur d'Angleterre, mais comme Chevalier Temple" was the inscription affixed to the document containing his sentence.

² Courtenay, i. 373-4.

Charles II. on the throne of England. The lack of ingenuousness contained in this suggestion may call for some criticism, for Temple, when he made it, must assuredly have known that the danger to the Triple Alliance was already great under the then reigning monarch; but he probably held that the wisest method of maintaining his policy was to persuade the Dutch Minister to repose confidence in Charles, who would thus have less excuse for a breach of his engagements. Meanwhile, Temple continued to correspond freely with Arlington, who, though he did not conceal his ill-will to the Dutch, nevertheless complimented Temple, periodically, upon the success of his diplomacy.

Thus satisfactorily, on the whole, passed the two years during which Temple was employed as Ambassador at The Hague; but evil times were now at hand. Whilst our diplomatist was straining every nerve to strengthen and prolong the accord with the Dutch, his master was simultaneously conducting an intrigue with the French. In May 1670 the Duchess of Orleans¹ paid her celebrated visit to England, and Charles and his Papist accomplices in the Ministry² signed the secret articles of the treaty of Dover.³ With the conclusion and publication, in December and January, of the sham treaties which were drawn up for the benefit of the Protestant members of the Cabal,⁴ Charles's designs against

¹ Henrietta Anne, youngest sister of Charles II. and first wife of Philip, Duke of Orleans. She died under mysterious circumstances immediately after her return to France in the following month, June 1670.

² Clifford and Arlington.

³ 22nd May 1670.

⁴ *I.e.*, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

the religion and liberties of England took definite shape. His object was nothing less than the establishment of despotism based upon Roman Catholicism, religious toleration, a standing army, and the French alliance; and the first step towards the accomplishment of this bold undertaking was to be the ruin of the United Provinces. Already in 1670 the first-fruits of English treachery became apparent. The exclusion of Trevor, Bridgeman, and Ormonde, firm supporters of the Triple Alliance, from the foreign committee,¹ and the seizure of Lorraine by Louis, were no uncertain symptoms of the contemplated change. The position of Temple, exposed as he was to the remonstrances of the Pensionary, fast became untenable; nevertheless the English Ministers hesitated to make an open display of their intentions by withdrawing him from The Hague. In September, however, he received orders to repair privately to London and consult with the Ministry, but to assure the Pensionary that he would not be long absent. He took his leave, accordingly, of De Witt, who was pressing in his demand for an explanation, which Temple, on his part, was ill qualified to give. He made but slight effort to reassure the Grand Pensionary, and gave no obscure indications of his own apprehensions. "He could answer for nobody besides himself, but this he would; and if ever such a thing should happen, he would never have any part in it. If he returned, De Witt would know more, and, if not, he presumed he would guess more."² They parted on good terms, but with mutual forebodings.

¹ August 1670.

² Temple to Bridgeman, September 1670. ("Works," ii. 164.)

Temple's suspicions were confirmed upon his arrival in London. His reception by Arlington was offhand and cold. So unwilling was the Secretary to discuss public business that, when no longer able to confine his talk to trivialities, he resorted to the device of introducing his child¹ in order to make serious conversation impossible. On the following day Temple presented himself before the King in the Mall; but Charles refused as obstinately as had Arlington to discuss affairs of State. Neither the King nor the Secretary, it was obvious, was willing to speak; but Temple's enemies were less reserved. It was from Clifford that he received the first avowal of the proposed reversal of his policy. Temple allowed the Treasurer to deliver himself of a violent diatribe against the Dutch² and his own connection with them, and then lost no time in resolving upon his course of action. It was an axiom of Temple's conduct that any miscarriage of his public affairs invariably led him to take refuge in retirement, and on the present occasion he made no exception to his general rule. His outlook upon life is nowhere

¹ Lady Isabella Bennet, Arlington's only child, was married, two years later, at the age of five (!), to Henry Fitz-Roy, natural son of Charles II. by Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland. The bridegroom (who was *four* years her senior!) was at the same time created Earl of Euston, and eventually, as Duke of Grafton, was killed in 1690 in the attack upon Cork. His widow was remarried in 1698 to Sir Thomas Hanmer, Speaker of the House of Commons and Editor of Shakspeare, and died in 1723.

² "In a great rage he answered: 'Yes; he would tell me what a man could do more; which was to let the King and all the world know how basely and unworthily the States had used him; and to declare publicly how their Ministers were a company of rogues and rascals, and not fit for His Majesty or any other Prince to have anything to do with.'" (Temple to his father, 22nd November 1670. "Works," ii. 173-7.) Clifford was evidently a master of words.

better expressed than in his own words to Sir John Temple at this time: "I apprehend weather coming which I shall have no mind to be abroad in; and therefore resolved to put a warm house over my head as soon as I could."¹ He withdrew to Sheen, and devoted himself immediately to the enlargement of his gardens.

Even yet the English Government had not thrown aside the mask; it was not until June 1671 that Temple received his definite recall. In accordance, probably, with a stipulation by Louis XIV. he had not been allowed to rejoin his embassy, and he was now given leave to send a letter of farewell to the States. A royal yacht was despatched to bring Lady Temple to England, but such were the orders given to the captain of the vessel that the Ambassadors's life was at one moment in danger of being sacrificed to Charles's desire for a pretext for war. An actual encounter with the Dutch fleet was, however, avoided, and Lady Temple was landed in safety in England. The affair gave Temple an occasion for a display of the wit in which he sometimes indulged. "I told (the King)," he says, "that it must be confessed there was some merit in my family, since I had made the alliance with Holland, and my wife was like to have the honour of making the war."² Such was the conclusion of Temple's mission at The Hague; "and thus an adventure ended in smoke which had for almost three years made such a noise in the world, and restored and preserved

¹ Temple to his father. ("Works," ii. 173-7.)

² To Sir John Temple, 14th September 1671 ("Works," ii. 178), where Temple also gives a lively account of Lady Temple's adventure with the Dutch fleet.

the general peace.”¹ Temple’s mortification at the event was so great that he expressed his intention of quitting public life: “He had been long enough in courts to know a great deal of the world and of himself, and to find that they were not made for one another.”² There have been greater statesmen (even in the nineteenth century) who have arrived at a similar conclusion in moments of stress. Temple forms no exception to the general rule in having refrained from carrying such resolutions into practice.

For the next two years Temple was domiciled at Sheen, his enforced leisure being devoted to philosophy and literature. He had already³ composed an essay upon the “Present State and Settlement of Ireland,” and in the years now under review he was prolific in his writings. Of the works which he wrote at this period, those which have attracted most notice are his “Survey of the Constitutions and Interests” of the principal powers of Europe,⁴ which he afterwards published in 1679; an “Essay upon the Origin and Nature of Government,” which he did not issue until 1680; his “Observations upon the United Provinces,”⁵ perhaps the best known and most valued of his works; and his essay (written for the edification of the Lord-Lieutenant, Essex) upon the “Advancement of Trade in Ireland.” In October 1673 he also put together, at the request of Ormonde, some notes containing his views as to “what was best to be done at that conjuncture.” On the subject of these works something further will be said on a later page. Temple, meanwhile, did

¹ To Sir John Temple. (“Works,” ii. 178.)

² *Ibid.*

³ 1667-68.

⁴ Composed in 1671.

⁵ 1672.

not confine himself to the composition of pamphlets ; he indulged as usual in his gardening pursuits, and enjoyed the satisfaction of knowing that his fruit-trees were becoming famous in Europe.

In the meantime the troubled condition of the Continent presented a remarkable contrast to the calm and seclusion of Temple's retirement. In accordance with the policy initiated at Dover, England and France in 1672 declared war upon Holland. The succeeding months saw the Palatinate and the United Provinces given up respectively to the ravages of fire and flood. The horrors of the French invasion were accentuated by the atrocities committed by the panic-stricken Hollanders, De Witt and his brother being torn in pieces by an infuriated mob. It devolved upon the Prince of Orange, now at the age of twenty-two, to rescue the Dutch from the oppression of France.

In 1674 the fury of the allied onset had already become spent. The English Parliament refused to countenance a continuance of the struggle ; and, on the side of France, Louis now for the first time found himself opposed by an uncompromising adversary. The ill success of the war, the Declaration of Indulgence, the "Stop of the Exchequer," and the undisguised subservience of the administration to the influence of Louis, combined to arouse a storm in England from which Charles saw no means of escape but by a treaty with Holland. The experiment which had resulted so favourably in 1667 was to do service a second time in 1673. The Test Act was passed and the Declaration annulled, the heir-apparent and the Treasurer retired from their offices,

and Charles II. withdrew from active co-operation with France.¹ The new policy, however, required a figurehead, and the unanimous voice of England called upon the negotiator of the Triple Alliance to undertake the service.

Temple was entrusted with the mediation of the peace; the Spanish Ambassador² acted as plenipotentiary on behalf of the Dutch. Such was the speed with which they treated, and so general the desire for a pacification, that three days sufficed to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion. The treaty of Westminster³ was signed in February 1674, and Holland and England were again at peace. The star of Temple's personality, so lately in eclipse at Sheen, was now once more in the ascendant. He received the offer of the embassy at Madrid,⁴ but, though he had long desired this dignified post, he acceded to the wishes of Sir John Temple and declined to accept it. Higher honours were within his reach. The new Lord Treasurer, Danby,⁵ was related to Lady Temple, and had known her husband as a boy. He now rapidly superseded Arlington in the capacity of Temple's patron. It was suggested, at his instance, that Arlington should be removed immediately to the post of Chamberlain, and that the Secretaryship thus vacated should be offered to Temple instead of, as had been originally proposed, to Sir Joseph Williamson. Temple's friends, Ralph

¹ 1673.

² The Marquis del Fresno.

³ Its terms were advantageous to England, which secured, besides a monetary indemnity, the "prerogative of the flag."

⁴ Courtenay, i. 421.

⁵ The "Sir Thomas Osborne" of Dorothy's letters.

Montagu¹ and Henry Sidney,² besought him to accept so honourable an appointment, and even promised to lend him the sum (£6,000) required for buying out its present holder. Temple, however, had now had sufficient experience of the Court of Charles II. to acquire a genuine distrust of the counsels of that monarch; and this apprehension, coupled with his somewhat puritanical objection to the generally recognised system of purchase, led him to decline the proffered dignity. Probably he had accurately calculated the effect of refusal, and was aware that he could rely upon appointment to the embassy at The Hague, whither he was duly accredited in May 1674.

Before setting out to assume his duties Temple sought an audience of the King. The account of what passed between monarch and ambassador is particularly interesting, illustrating at the same time the bold independence which characterised Temple in his intercourse with the King, and the consummate power of concealing his feelings which was not the least remarkable of the gifts of Charles II. In the course of this interview Charles must indeed have been reminded forcibly of his experiences as Covenanted King of Scotland. The Ambassador delivered what was in fact a lecture upon the iniquity of his conduct,³

¹ Eldest son of Edward, second Lord Montagu of Boughton, and afterwards Earl, and, from 1705, Duke of Montagu.

² Younger son of the second Earl of Leicester, and brother of Philip, Lord Lisle, and of Algernon Sidney.

³ The demeanour of Temple in his dealings with his Sovereign reminds us irresistibly of a later occasion, when the deportment of another member of the diplomatist's family exasperated George III. into making the remark that he "would sooner see the devil in his closet than

and finally quoted the saying of Gourville that a King of England, to be great, must be the man of his people. With the easy gesture which cost him so little, and which was so effective in endearing him to those with whom he came in contact, Charles laid his hand upon the shoulder of Temple and assured him that that ambition should henceforth be the object of his life.¹ With this declaration still ringing in his ears, Temple set out upon his journey to The Hague.

For the next few years the centre of European intrigue is the Conference at Nimeguen. A good understanding had now been established between England and Holland; Spain and the Emperor were actually in arms to reduce France to the limits acquired at the peace of the Pyrenees; and with the exception of Sweden, now on the eve of her collapse before the Prussians at Fehrbellin,² Louis was without allies in Europe. Temple, accordingly, had plenty to occupy him during these years. The negotiations

Mr (George) Grenville." The assumption of a dictatorial tone in their relations with Majesty appears to have been almost a tradition amongst the Temples and Grenvilles: they seem to have possessed an altogether exceptional faculty for incurring royal resentment. Richard Grenville, Earl Temple (1711-79), was scarcely less odious in the eyes of George II. than his brother became in those of that monarch's successor; and if there is any truth in the story told by Horace Walpole ("Memoirs of the Reign of George II." ii. 378) that the Earl actually drew an elaborate parallel, in the presence of the King, between Byng's conduct at Minorca and that of George at Oudenarde, in which the advantage was certainly not on the side of the monarch, it would seem that George's irritation was not wholly unjustifiable. Finally, the cavalier treatment which Queen Victoria was accustomed to experience at the hands of Lord Palmerston brought upon that Minister, on more than one occasion, the displeasure of his Sovereign.

¹ *Memoirs*, 1672-79. ("Works," ii. 264.)

² 1675.

which eventually resulted in the treaty of Nimeguen were not, however, his only concern. As during his previous residence at The Hague, he was bidden to cultivate the acquaintance of the young Prince of Orange, and assure him of the friendship of his uncle of England. The good relations which Temple finally established with William (not, it is true, without some initial difficulties),¹ gave rise to the most notable event which occurred on his embassy. During his first three years at The Hague, however, little took place of any importance, and the negotiations for a treaty proceeded at a very languid pace. In the close of 1674 Temple was surprised by the arrival in Holland of no less a person than Arlington himself, with the object of whose mission he was left unacquainted except that it had something to do with the particular domestic concerns of the King and the Prince. Temple seems to have looked upon this intrusion of Arlington in much the same light as he had viewed the despatch of Lord Carlingford in 1665, and he was probably much relieved by the Minister's departure after a stay of six weeks. The only political effect of this visit seems to have been to cause much personal irritation between Arlington and the Prince, who was enraged by the report that he was about to go to England; altogether no good appears to have followed from this ill-judged intervention on the part of the Chamberlain.²

It was in March 1675 that Temple received his appointment to the Conference at Nimeguen. Before he set out thither he was summoned to England under mysterious circumstances to endeavour to reconcile

¹ Courtenay, i. 430-2.

² *Ibid.*, 441-5.

the differences between Danby and Arlington. In this, as might have been expected, he failed, and henceforth the relations between Arlington and himself, already embittered by the Chamberlain's jealousy of the connection existing between Temple and Danby, became more and more strained. After six weeks Temple returned to The Hague; but here a new mortification awaited him, in the shape of another secret agent whom Charles, in the person of Sir Gabriel Silvius, had sent over to Holland. The latter's mission was of little effect; he failed to win the confidence of the Prince, who daily became more intimate with the regular Ambassador, and the only result of this curious interlude was a final breach between Temple and Arlington.¹ No further correspondence passed between the Ambassador and the Chamberlain.

Little interest attaches to the diplomatic intrigues which centred at this time round Nimeguen and The Hague. It was not till July 1676 that Temple proceeded to the former place, England being represented in the meantime by Sir Leoline Jenkins. Temple, in truth, was concerned in the preparation of an event by which the interests of his country were far more closely affected than by any of the possible arrangements at Nimeguen. He was negotiating the marriage of William with his cousin Mary, daughter of the Duke of York. This match had first been suggested in 1674, but on William's side the idea had been coldly received. Two years later, however, we find him listening attentively to the suggestion; and before setting out for the

¹ Courtenay, i. 462-4.

campaign of 1676, he renewed the subject with Temple of his own accord, asking for full details of the lady's person and "dispositions."¹ Temple's wife, who was on terms of intimacy with Lady Villiers, the Princess's governess, was able to satisfy William's curiosity on a number of small points to which the Prince seems to have attached quite extravagant importance, and the result was that she went over to England with letters to the King and to the Duke, and with instructions to interview Danby concerning the matter. It was not, however, till September 1677 that William obtained permission to come over to England and finish his wooing. Even then difficulties arose, and Charles was anxious to postpone the match. These difficulties were removed by the interposition of Temple and Danby, and on 4th November the marriage took place.² The event which Temple had thus helped to bring about was received with joy in England, though it occasioned some distrust of the Prince in Holland.³ In France it excited corresponding forebodings, since Barillon, Louis's Ambassador in London, had been carefully kept in ignorance of the progress of the match. The affair, Lady Giffard tells us, completed the estrangement between Temple and Arlington, the latter being jealous of Temple's success in the negotiation of it; but the reputation of Temple as a statesman and diplomatist was greatly enhanced in public opinion.

Meanwhile the negotiations for peace had been resumed, and in July 1676 Temple had at last obeyed

¹ For Temple's remarkable interview with William on this subject, see his *Memoirs* from 1672-79. ("Works," ii. 334-7.)

² Courtenay, i. 504.

³ *Ibid.*, 508.

his orders to proceed to Nimeguen. He did not, however, quit The Hague without some initial difficulties with our allies, the States. The latter desired to introduce into the Congress a Minister of the Duke of Neuburg, a suggestion which Temple resisted on principle, as likely to render the Conference interminable. For once the Ambassador's irritation overcame him, and he departed from his usual suavity of speech. The States, he said, might as well ask for passports for the Kings of Macassar or Ceylon; or even, he adds, for the Duke of Muscovy. The inclusion of the last-named among such potentates as the above might at first sight impress the twentieth-century reader with the jocularly of Temple's disposition; but it must be borne in mind that the Muscovy of 1678 and of the Conference of Nimeguen was very far removed from the Russia of 1878 and of the Congress of Berlin.

At Nimeguen Temple seems to have been occupied mainly in the solution of problems caused in part by the somewhat curious notions of diplomatic etiquette entertained by the Dutch plenipotentiary, Beverning,¹ and due also in some measure to the tenacity of his dignity displayed by the Austrian, Count Kinski. The latter on one occasion² obliged the representatives of all Europe to do business on their legs by usurping the chair which belonged of right to Sir Leoline Jenkins—a striking instance of the diplomatic amenities in vogue at the latter end of the seventeenth century.

At the close of the year Temple returned to The Hague, where he received a further proof of the

¹ Courtenay, i. 404-5.

² *Ibid.*, 487-8.

esteem in which he was held by the nation at large. In June 1677 his son, John Temple, now growing to manhood, brought him a letter from the Treasurer, Danby, offering him for the second time the post of Secretary of State, which Henry Coventry was prepared to resign on receiving a gratuity of £10,000.¹ The King was eager to obtain Temple's services, and generously offered to provide half the sum required. This step on the part of Charles must probably be ascribed to the growing violence and faction in Parliament which had been occasioned by the favour he had shown to the French, and he accordingly declined to accept Temple's first refusal of the post, sending over the royal yacht to convey him to England. Temple was indeed the man to whom the whole nation looked, as Mr Seccombe writes in the D.N.B., to restore "harmony as well as respectability" to the councils of the King; and Charles must have been in great need of his services to pledge so large a sum of money and expose himself, moreover, to a renewal of the sermon which he had received from the Ambassador on his last visit to Court. Not even an audience with Charles, however, could shake the determination of Temple; and though, at the King's suggestion, he retired to consider the question at Sheen, he returned only more stiffened in his resolve to avoid the responsibility of so exalted a position.² Charles was compelled to acquiesce in his refusal, but retained Temple about the Court until after the conclusion of the marriage between William and Mary.

¹ Courtenay, i. 497.

² *Memoirs*, 1672-79. ("Works," ii. 408, 409.)

In 1678 Temple was back at The Hague, his coming being esteemed by the Dutch Commissioners of Secret Affairs, "like that of the swallow which always brings fair weather with it."¹ Whilst there he signed, in July, a new alliance with Holland, in order to compel France to evacuate the Spanish towns she had seized. This successful negotiation,² which lasted six days, was a very fine performance, seeing that the States had been on the point of coming to a conclusion with Louis; but it was wholly without influence upon the course of events. Temple received no acknowledgment of his success from the Ministry in London, and his apprehensions thereat were increased by the activity at this time of one Du Cros, a diplomatic agent in the pay of Barillon.³ What exact effect the transactions of this political busybody had upon the issue of the negotiations it is difficult to say. He afterwards laid claim to having brought about the peace by being the bearer of a paper in which Sweden renounced her pretensions to the towns she had lost by her participation in the war. The whole incident is, in fact, a somewhat unintelligible interlude in the maze of diplomatic intrigue which was carried on at Nimeguen, whither Temple now proceeded. A further annoyance, however, awaited him, for in spite of the late treaty between England and Holland, Louis succeeded in detaching the latter power and

¹ *Memoirs*, 1672-79. ("Works," ii. 442.)

² For details, see *Courtenay*, ii. 1-5.

³ *Courtenay*, ii. 6-13. An acrimonious correspondence, in the shape of a series of pamphlets, subsequently took place between Temple and Du Cros, or their respective supporters, with regard to this incident. (See *Courtenay*, ii. 195-214.)

concluding with her a treaty of peace (10th August 1678).

The weary Conference now drew to its close. English diplomacy had suffered a check, and it was in no pleasant frame of mind that Temple made his last journey to Nimeguen in January 1679. There the final pacification of Europe was signed, in the presence, though without the concurrence, of the English Ambassador. The latter was thoroughly out of humour alike with the event in which he was asked to participate, and with the severity of the climatic conditions at that period of the year. At the age of fifty he was, perhaps, more sensitive to the discomforts of travelling than he had been thirteen years before, on the occasion of his adventurous journey from Münster to Brussels. He did not affix his name to the treaty, and he congratulated himself that a formal irregularity excused him from signing an instrument in the framing of which he had had no concern, the terms of which he thoroughly disapproved, and whose policy was based upon the collapse of his favourite system, the Triple Alliance.

England has no reason to look back with pride on the treaty of Nimeguen. In the words of Temple himself: "Her counsels and conduct was like those of a floating island, driven one way or t'other according to the winds and tides."¹ Hence the ease with which she was outwitted by the steadfast diplomacy and experienced counsellors of Louis XIV.

¹ *Memoirs*, 1672-79. ("Works," ii. 454.)

CHAPTER VI

TEMPLE AND THE PRIVY COUNCIL

TEMPLE returned to The Hague immediately upon the conclusion of the treaty of Nimeguen. His activities were shortly to be transferred to a wider and more troublous scene.

The internal condition of England had in the closing months of 1678 gone rapidly from bad to worse. The storm which had so long threatened the Government of Charles II. now burst in a fury of madness and discontent which seemed about to overthrow the very foundations of the throne. In September Oates laid before the Council the infamous tissue of inventions known to history as the "Popish Plot." The seizure of Coleman's letters, corroborating, as was supposed, the existence of a conspiracy, and the discovery on 17th October of the seemingly murdered body of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, roused the country to a fever-pitch of indignation against Popish "assassins." The revolutionary passions, engendered by seventeen years of corrupt administration, were now at last let loose upon society, and their subsidence was to be marked by the deposition of a Popish King, and the establishment in England of a limited monarchy.

Whilst the fury aroused by the "revelations" of Oates was still fresh in men's minds, and the half-million inhabitants of London were living in daily terror of destruction by the Jesuits; whilst respectable matrons were carrying firearms, and sturdy Whig burgesses walked abroad armed with the "Protestant flail," Temple was still chafing in idleness at The Hague awaiting his last summons to the Conference at Nimeguen. It is strange that he should have selected this, the most troubled period of Charles's reign, to make his first attempt to enter the English House of Commons. As early as his embassy at Münster he had solicited from Arlington a seat in Parliament,¹ nor had he ever quite lost sight of this design. What induced him to try his fortune at so inauspicious a moment it is difficult to say: his own memoirs and his chief biographer are singularly silent with regard to this incident. It is possible that an intrigue,² of which he had heard in the summer, to deprive him of the reversion of the Secretaryship of State, may have had something to do with his resolution. In June 1678 Ralph Montagu, our Ambassador at Paris, of whose unpleasant personality we have already caught a glimpse in more favourable circumstances,³ solicited the influence of the Treasurer Danby to secure his own appointment to the office to which he had been eager to promote Temple only four years before. To this application Danby turned a deaf ear, pleading

¹ Temple to Arlington, 4th August 1665 (State Paper Office).

² Courtenay, ii. 20, 21.

³ *Supra*, p. 64. He had offered to lend Temple half the sum then required for buying out Arlington.

his engagements to Temple in excuse; and, as a result, both Temple and the Treasurer incurred the relentless hostility of perhaps the most unprincipled politician who disfigures the reign of Charles II. Montagu was not long in securing his revenge. Temple, as we have said, decided to enter the English House of Commons, and stood, accordingly, as candidate for Northampton at a bye-election in October 1678. His opponent was none other than Montagu himself, who had the satisfaction of defeating his antagonist by a substantial majority. Both candidates were nevertheless returned, in accordance with a practice which had become almost an invariable result of Northampton elections;¹ but Montagu was eventually seated as member.

The first point had been scored by Montagu; that unscrupulous intriguer now devoted himself to the ruin of his other and more powerful antagonist. Danby was much disappointed at Temple's failure;² he had looked for a new and able supporter in the House of Commons, instead of which he witnessed the intrusion of a dangerous enemy. Montagu was not long in showing his hand. Danby, though he performed Charles's bidding, was genuinely opposed to the King's policy of subservience to France. Louis accordingly resolved on his overthrow, and for this purpose made use of a secret treaty in Danby's handwriting, but signed by the King, by which Charles was to receive from France the sum

¹ See Appendix II. on the Northampton Election.

² "I was in hopes to have seen you in the House by this time, and to have had the help of so able a physician in so desperate a disorder!" (Danby to Temple, 19th November 1678.)

of £300,000. Louis now paid Montagu a handsome amount to publish this secret document in London. The plot succeeded. By the King's order Montagu's papers were seized, but the tell-tale manuscript escaped the search, and, to the dismay of Charles and his Treasurer, was read aloud by the Speaker, to whom Montagu had handed it, in the House of Commons.¹ Against the outcry which succeeded this revelation no Minister could hope to stand. Danby was forthwith impeached by the House, and to save the Treasurer's head, Charles resolved upon dissolving the "Cavalier Parliament."²

It was at this moment that Temple returned to England on the receipt of an imperative summons from Charles, who for the third time desired him to accept office as Secretary of State in the now discredited Ministry of Danby. As usual he refused the honour, but was brought home in the royal yacht at the end of February 1679.³ A personal inspection of the state of affairs was not likely to induce him to change his mind.⁴ He excused himself to the King on the plea of waning health and the lack of a seat in Parliament. "I represented to His Majesty how necessary it was for him to have one of the Secretaries in the House of Commons where it had been usual to have them both, and that consequently it was very unfit for me to enter upon that office before I got into the House, which was attempted and failed."⁵ It would appear from what he says

¹ 19th December 1678. ² 24th January 1679. ³ Courtenay, ii. 24.

⁴ See his own account of the political situation at this time, contained in the concluding paragraphs of his *Memoirs of the years 1672-79*. ("Works," ii. 467-79.)

⁵ "Works," ii. 479.

in his Memoirs of this period that he was himself responsible for his failure on this occasion to enter the House. "The elections were canvassing for a new Parliament, and I ordered my pretensions so as they came to fail. . . . I concluded it a scene unfit for such actors as I knew myself to be, and resolved to avoid the Secretary's place or any other public employment at home, my character abroad still continuing."¹ In spite of Temple's manifest unwillingness, attempts were made to have him elected at Windsor and other places, but he was nowhere returned.² To Danby Temple's failure made very little difference, since no sooner had the new Parliament met,³ than the proceedings against the Treasurer were revived, and he was committed to the Tower. Thus ended the connection between these two famous men, the best administrator and the best diplomatist in the service of Charles II. Danby recovered his liberty after a few years' imprisonment, but there is no evidence to show that they ever met again. Henceforth Temple attached himself chiefly to Sunderland, the new Secretary of State; but for the rest of his career he acknowledged no patron in the same sense in which he had recognised Danby and Arlington.⁴

Temple had, indeed, no need for a patron; in the spring of 1679, despite his somewhat churlish refusals to take office, he enjoyed to a full extent the confidence of the King. He was now about to enter upon the last great act of his political life. Charles's

¹ Memoirs from the Peace of 1679. ("Works," ii. 491.)

² *Ibid.*, 492.

³ March 1679.

⁴ Courtenay, ii. 31.

position was becoming daily more desperate. The factious violence of all parties in Parliament, the virulence with which the Whigs prosecuted the "Popish Plot," the removal of Danby, and the discredit surrounding the other members of the Ministry, had left him sorely in need of some new counsellor whose accession to the Government should restore the credit of the throne in the eyes of the nation. Charles, with his customary insight, selected Temple as the man whose reputation in the country at large should give a fillip of popularity to the administration. He therefore flattered Temple's vanity by summoning him frequently to a private audience, and the conferences between the two daily became longer and more confidential. The outcome of these consultations appeared in April, in the shape of a scheme, for which Temple stood sponsor, to revivify the Privy Council.

The plan thus announced was indeed a remarkable one; it has been ably expounded by Temple himself in the third part of his *Memoirs*.¹ The essential feature of the design was the "creation of a new Council, of such a constitution as might either gain credit enough with the present Parliament, by taking in so many persons of those who had most among them, and thereby giving ease and quiet both to the King and his people; or if, on the other hand, the humours should grow outrageous and beyond opposing, the King might yet at the head of such a Council, with more authority and less hazard of ill consequences, either prorogue or dissolve them, as

¹ "Works," ii. 493-4.

any necessities of his own or extravagances of theirs should require."

The object of the measure was thus clearly to strengthen the authority of the Crown in its dealings with Parliament. Let us see how this was to be done. The Privy Council, which then consisted of about fifty members, was to be dissolved, and its place taken by a new body of thirty; the reduction in size being designed to hinder the possibility of the formation of a small interior council, the existence of which had become inevitable under the hitherto prevailing system. The King pledged himself to govern by the constant advice of this body, which was to be accorded full freedom of debate, and no royal business was to be reserved for a secret committee.

So far no very startling innovation was proposed; it is in the composition of the suggested Council that we observe the most remarkable features of the scheme. Fifteen of its members were to be great officers of State. The other fifteen were to consist of "great lords and commoners of most appearing credit and sway in both Houses, without being thought either principled or interested against the Government."¹ The most remarkable proviso is the last: "One chief regard necessary to this constitution was that of the personal riches of this new Council, which in revenues of land or offices was found to amount to about £300,000 a year; whereas those of a House of Commons are seldom found to have exceeded £400,000."² It is this regard for wealth in the choice of its members which gives to Temple's proposal its most striking features.

¹ "Works," ii. 494.

² *Ibid.*

Such was the scheme for a new Privy Council which has gone down to history under the auspices of Temple's name. It has afforded to historians an endless theme for controversy. Whilst some have regarded it as the last hopeless expedient of a desperate monarch and a deluded Minister, others have seen in it a far-sighted and cleverly-conceived design for extricating the Crown from the trammels of Parliamentary control. It is probable that neither view is absolutely correct; and certainly Macaulay, and those who have followed him in his extravagant speculations as to the real nature of Temple's design, have laid themselves open to the charge of reading far too much into what was in reality a very simple plan. The motives which actuated the King himself can excite little question. Charles found himself in a position of difficulty, surrounded by the violence of party faction and in danger even of losing his throne. He sought by this new scheme merely to divert the minds of the discontented from a contemplation of their grievances; when once this object should be attained, he was fully prepared to conclude the experiment. Charles was far too much of a political opportunist to engage in a scheme for the gradual supersession of Parliament, the working of which must extend over years.

To Charles, then, the new Council was merely a temporary expedient to extricate him from his troubles. How was it regarded by the man whom history has agreed to call its author—viz., Temple himself?¹ If we are to trust the speculations of

¹ For the question of the extent of Temple's responsibility for the scheme, see Appendix III.

Macaulay, he had a far wider object in view than would at first sight appear. Under colour of a change in the administration, Temple aimed, he holds, at effecting a permanent change in the English constitution. In support of this theory he instances the obvious disadvantages attaching to the scheme regarded merely in the light of a plan for a new Cabinet: *e.g.*, the unwieldiness of a council containing thirty members, the impossibility of securing secrecy and despatch, and the certainty of disunion and differences of opinion between men of such preponderant wealth and influence as those of whom the new Council was intended to consist. "Ce sont," said Barillon, "des États, non des conseils;" and upon this remark Macaulay has built an elaborate theory as to Temple's ulterior object in the framing of the scheme. The new Privy Council was, in his opinion, designed to develop into an Assembly of States, gradually curtailing and usurping the powers of Parliament, and, in short, following the same course of evolution as the small interior council, with a similar number of members, which now exercised the powers of the States-General in Holland. The analogy of this Dutch assembly, with the working of which Temple must have been fully conversant, is the soundest argument which Macaulay advances in support of his belief. Finally, the essayist has expressed his conviction in a nut-shell. "Either Temple's project has been misunderstood, or his talents for public affairs have been over-rated."

Were we compelled to accept one of these alternate theories, we confess that the latter appears to us the more worthy of adoption. Temple was an observant

and withal a speculative man, but there seems insufficient reason to credit him with designing so stupendous an undertaking as the attempt to work a lasting change in the constitution of the country. The project, even were it to succeed at all, could only be expected to work itself out in a long course of years and by gradual development. Such a design was not one which would have recommended itself to Temple; he was no constitution-monger such as the Abbé Sieyès of a later epoch, and it is no injustice to his memory to assert that he cared more for a reputation for statesmanship during life than for all the honours of posthumous fame. The solution of the problem seems to us far more simple; Temple was on this occasion, as on many others during the previous years, little more than a tool in the hands of his sovereign. To Charles the use of Temple's name was invaluable: we have already noticed the persistence with which he had attempted in recent years to persuade him to allow himself to be included in the administration. The well-known vanity of the eminent negotiator was the weak spot upon which the King concentrated for the attainment of his object. He flattered the self-esteem of Temple by his frequent consultations, and, by allowing full rein to the diplomatist's imagination, at last succeeded in securing his services. The price which he paid for Temple's consent to be included in the Government was his trial of this scheme for the establishment of a new Council.

Hitherto, throughout his career, all Temple's public actions had been the subject for universal commendation. It is not too much to say that they had even

been designed to some extent with that end in view. In this respect it is possible to compare him with a man to whom in every other respect he was strikingly dissimilar—his contemporary, the first Earl of Shaftesbury. Here, however, the comparison ceases. Whilst each gauged carefully the effect which his actions might produce upon public opinion, Temple stopped short at this point, content to have earned a reputation for foresight and patriotism; Shaftesbury, on the other hand, valued the approbation of the vulgar crowd as a means whereby he might attain to political ascendancy. Each in the end presumed too far. The Privy Council scheme has, except in the eyes of Macaulay, seriously damaged Temple's reputation for statesmanship; the Exclusion Bill was destined by the irony of fate to bring Shaftesbury's own political career to an inglorious end.

Mr Courtenay is at a loss to explain Temple's motives in this affair. They appear to us to have been dictated by his prevailing foible, vanity. Flattered by the attentions bestowed upon him by the King, he seems to have imagined himself qualified to heal all the wounds and reconcile all the differences, which were the outcome of the troublous times through which England was passing. Perhaps he believed, and, if so, Charles himself would seem to have shared the belief, that his intervention in domestic politics in the capacity of originator of a new scheme of government, would silence the disaffected and restore credit to the throne. He thus planned the extraordinary assembly which we have already described, and trusted that

the discordant and mutually antagonistic elements therein contained could be united under the spell of his own unsullied patriotism. Napoleon in 1812, Gladstone under different circumstances in 1886, trusted overmuch to the wonders wrought in the past by the magic of their names. The mistake which Temple now committed was similar in character, though the issue involved—viz., his own reputation for political statesmanship—was of incomparably less moment.

The new project was propounded in a royal declaration issued on 21st April 1679, setting forth the inconveniences of the hitherto prevailing system and the reasons which had led Charles to adopt the new experiment.¹ From the first it was evident that little was to be expected from the success of the scheme. Temple himself, indeed, within a very few hours of the construction of the Council, set the example of violating one of its most fundamental principles: with the three lords, Sunderland, Essex, and Halifax, he established what amounted in fact to an interior cabinet. Differences, moreover, had arisen at the outset between Temple and Charles as to who were to be chosen; and to the great mortification of Temple, the King, who had only consented under considerable pressure to the inclusion of Halifax, insisted upon the admission of Shaftesbury and his appointment as President of the Council. This action on the part of Charles was a fatal step—so fatal that some have even imagined that the King actually desired the non-success of the scheme. Discontent and party violence broke out

¹ See this document. ("Works," vol. ii., end.)

with redoubled vigour, and the additional power thus bestowed upon Shaftesbury enabled him to strengthen himself as leader of the Opposition. The Habeas Corpus Act was passed, the Exclusion Bill made rapid progress, and the impeachment of Danby was eagerly proceeded with. Under these circumstances Charles violated the promises he had made a month before, and, without even consulting the Council by whose advice he had pledged himself to act, declared Parliament prorogued.

The scheme from which Temple had hoped so much had in reality already broken down. It had been coldly received by the House of Commons,¹ which was determined not to have its attention diverted from the prosecution of the supposed conspirators of the "Popish Plot." Now, however, the Parliament was prorogued, but unanimity had not been restored within the walls of the Council chamber. Dissension, on the other hand, gradually increased, and an estrangement soon took place between Temple and Halifax over the treatment of the "Plot," Temple obstinately refusing, to his credit, to sanction measures of severity against innocent Papists. Before this, however, Temple had been afforded a fourth and final opportunity of accepting office as Secretary of State.² As before, he declined the proffered dignity, alleging infirmities of age and sight. It was at this moment that he at last obtained that seat in the Commons which for so many years he had alternately desired and shunned. He was elected to represent Cambridge University³ in the

¹ Courtenay, ii. 43.

² *Ibid.*, 49.

³ It is interesting to note that another famous Temple, the Prime

new Parliament, which was summoned originally for October 1679, and which did not actually meet until the close of the following year. His election was opposed by the Bishop of Ely,¹ who disliked the exaggerated tone of toleration which characterised Temple's remarks upon religion in his book on the Netherlands.

During the summer of 1679 the Council was adjourned, and Charles was for a time very seriously ill. This event occasioned an intrigue against Temple on the part of his two colleagues, Halifax and Essex. These lords had summoned the Duke of York to England to be prepared against any eventualities which might arise if the King were to die. They had not, however, taken Temple into their confidence. The latter, much offended, communicated to Lord Sunderland his resentment at the conduct of his friends, and the small cabinet of four was now permanently shattered.² Henceforth Temple found himself more and more excluded from the innermost counsels of the King.

In October 1679 he received a further proof of the failure of his scheme. Charles suddenly prorogued the newly-elected Parliament for the space of a twelvemonth, refusing to allow the members of his Council even the privilege of debate. "To make counsellors that should not counsel," which was in effect what Charles had done, implied in Temple's eyes a contradiction in terms, and he openly expostulated with the monarch upon his proceedings.

Minister Palmerston, also represented Cambridge University at Westminster. (See note on University representatives, Appendix IV.)

¹ Peter Gunning.

² Courtenay, ii. 55.

Charles listened graciously to his complaints, but not so Sunderland, who now joined the ranks of Temple's opponents. Temple, indeed, was now on ill terms with all the leading men, and from this time onwards he paid but infrequent visits to the Council. That institution was, in fact, practically moribund. Shaftesbury was struck off the list in October 1679, and Essex and Halifax retired from participation in its meetings. In the following January Russell, Capel, Cavendish, and Powle went to the King in a body and "Prayed His Majesty to give them leave to withdraw from the Councell Board, to which His Majesty was pleased to answer: With all His Heart,"¹—a reply, as we may well believe, no less sincere than laconic. Temple, now weary of the experiment, passed the greater part of the year amidst his nectarines at Sheen. He did not absent himself permanently from the meetings of the Council, and he continued to live on good terms with the King.

In September 1680 he received his last diplomatic appointment, being nominated Ambassador-Extraordinary at Madrid. He did not, however, set out for his post, remaining at Charles's desire for the opening of Parliament. In October 1680 the Houses met, and the Exclusion Bill again passed rapidly through the Commons. In the Lords, on the other hand, the eloquence of Halifax triumphed, despite all the efforts of Essex and Shaftesbury, and the Bill was rejected. Temple seems to have played but little part in these discussions. Indeed, he

¹ Official notice in the *London Gazette*, No. 1482, dated 31st January (1679-80).

advised the King that it was useless to try to oppose the Bill in the lower House. One speech, however, which he made in this session is recorded, relating to the question as to the maintenance of Tangier.¹ On 10th January 1681 Parliament was again dissolved, another being summoned to meet at Oxford in the following March.

Temple was now on the eve of his retirement into private life. His two years' experience of the polemics of Westminster had disgusted him with public affairs. He hesitated before taking the final step, but was compelled to make a decision by his constituents at Cambridge, who asked him whether he would stand for re-election. Unwilling to offend the King, Temple now asked for his advice. Charles replied that, considering how matters stood, he "doubted whether he could do him much good in the House,"² thus giving no obscure indication of his own opinion in the matter. The King's words were decisive, and Temple lost no time in retiring to Sheen. Thence he despatched a letter to Charles with the announcement that he intended "to pass the rest of his life like as good subject as any he had, but that he would never meddle any more with public affairs." The King replied disavowing all displeasure, but on 24th January the name of Temple, together with those of Essex, Sunderland, and Salisbury, was struck off the roll of Privy Councillors.³

This ended Temple's connection with political life,

¹ Courtenay, ii. 65-7.

² *Ibid.*, 71.

³ *Ibid.*, 72. For the *personnel* of the Privy Council 1679-81, see Appendix V.

and such was the issue of the remarkable experiment which under his auspices was to have resulted in a reformation of the Government! It is clear that the scheme was from the first foredoomed to failure. Whatever Temple's merits—and as a diplomatist they are hardly likely to be called in question—he was certainly not adapted for the troubled stage of domestic politics. Naturally of a speculative rather than adventurous temperament, he was ill equipped to encounter the envenomed bitterness of antagonistic factions: hence his failure to understand the political jealousies and personal intrigues which were characteristic of the situation in the years 1679 - 81. Jealousy for the reputation he had acquired by his service abroad caused him to withdraw in the latter year from the troubled arena into which he had entered originally in the character of a *dilettante* rather than in that of a zealot. That he was fully aware of his own imperfections is shown by the nature of the observations with which he takes leave of public life. "I considered myself in my own humour, temper, and dispositions, which a man may disguise to others, though very hardly, but cannot to himself. I had learned by being long in Courts and public affairs that I was fit to live no longer in either. I found the arts of a Court were contrary to the frankness and openness of my nature." That there is much justice in the verdict which Temple thus passed upon himself will be acknowledged by every one who has studied his career. It only remains to wonder that he should have reached the age of fifty-two before his self-analysis led him to arrive at this conclusion.

With Temple's retirement the new Privy Council scheme may be said to have collapsed; in actual fact, it had done so already. We may conclude our sketch of this epoch in Temple's public life by quoting the words with which Professor Dicey discusses this remarkable project. "Temple's plan, in spite of its ingenuity, utterly failed. Within two years he had retired from office, filled with disgust and mortification, and his scheme had passed away as completely as any other paper constitution which philosophers have drawn up and politicians have refused to adopt. He attributes his failure to the King's duplicity, and to the admission of Shaftesbury to the Council Board. The King, doubtless, had made a tool of the philosopher. But the reason of Temple's failure lay much deeper than any causes which he assigns. *His Council was too much or too little. It was too large for a Cabinet, too small for a Parliament.* It represented two inconsistent principles: appointment of Ministers for the sake of their Parliamentary influence, and appointment of Ministers because they were acceptable to the King. The plan was doomed to failure from its birth. The Parliament received it coldly, and had reason to do so since, on Temple's own admission, the authority of his Council was meant to counter-balance the influence of Parliament. Bickerings broke out among the Councillors, and Temple dealt a death-blow to his own creation when, though the essence of his scheme was that all the Council should be consulted, he consented to form part of a Council within the Council. It is, however, from its very inconsistencies that Temple's plan derives interest.

It marks the transition from government by the whole Council to government by a Cabinet."¹

"The King," says Professor Dicey, "had made a tool of the philosopher." Herein we see the true explanation of Temple's actions at this time. Charles, with the connivance of Sunderland and the Duchess of Portsmouth (see Appendix III.), had fooled the diplomatist, even as Sieyès was fooled by Bonaparte after the *coup d'état* of Brumaire, and as the "paper-constitution" of the philosopher Midhat was converted to his own ends by that ablest of politicians, Abdul Hamid II. There was a strain of Orientalism about the Court of Charles II.,—as the presence of such ladies as the Duchess of Portsmouth is sufficient to testify; a tinge of the East may be discerned, too, about his domestic administration and his methods of diplomacy. Hence it is, perhaps, less fantastic than might at first sight appear, to discover the nearest analogies to Temple's position at this period in the Eastern Europe of to-day. The Turkish Midhat and the Russian Count Witte are, in fact, the statesmen with whom it is most easy to compare him. Midhat he resembles in the ease with which his unsuspecting vanity was exploited by an insincere and unscrupulous sovereign: Witte,—who presents perhaps a closer parallel,—in the ill-advised irruption into the sphere of home-government, whereby each risked the sacrifice of a diplomatic reputation which had placed him, deservedly, in the first rank among the statesmen of his time.

¹ Dicey's "Privy Council" (Arnold Essay, 1860), pp. 140-2.

CHAPTER VII

CLOSING YEARS

AT the comparatively early age of fifty-two Temple had withdrawn from public life. He was thus at liberty to follow his favourite pursuits. His situation was in many respects a happy one. He had established for himself, alike by his writings and by the success of his diplomacy, a durable position amongst the men of his age. He resolved to pass his closing years in the cultured seclusion which was so suited to his tastes.

He was fortunate in the moment which he selected for retirement. His "exceeding niceness"¹ was out of season in those troublous times. Neither party would have welcomed the adherence of a supporter who was afraid to sacrifice his reputation by incurring the enmity of political opponents. The hour for moderate men had passed away. The reign of terror which had followed upon the exposure of the so-called "Popish Plot" was succeeded by that which resulted from the dissolution of the Parliament at Oxford. Temple would have been out of place in the scenes which accompanied the confiscation of the Charters and the persecution of the Whigs; Sheen and Moor Park were better adapted to the

¹ Macaulay, p. 460.

vagaries of his temperament. Moor Park in Surrey¹ was the spot which Temple selected as the scene of his retirement. This estate he purchased in 1680, and cultivated according to the prevailing Dutch style, with a canal and a rivulet intersecting the domain. His orchards were, perhaps, his greatest joy; his "apricocks" and cherries being the wonder of all comers. Thus, in the pursuits of gardening and literature—for, as in previous periods of retirement, he spent much of his time in the studies of his "closet"—Temple was agreeably employed throughout the most critical decade of our history. He was seldom seen in the city or at Court, and abstained from any participation in the events which hurled James II. from his throne. It might have been imagined that the accession of his personal friend, the Prince of Orange, would have lured him from the security of his retirement, but even that event, which must have appealed to him like an intervention of Heaven, could not stir him from his resolution never again to mix in political affairs. One public office alone he retained, viz., that of the Mastership of the Rolls in Ireland, the reversion of which had devolved upon him upon the death of his father on 14th November 1677.² He performed his duties, in accordance with a royal licence, through the medium of a deputy, and it was not until 1696 that he surrendered the titular post.

The events of 1689 did not, however, pass wholly unnoticed at Moor Park. Though Temple himself

¹ Not to be confounded with the Moor Park in Hertfordshire, where he had spent some of the happiest days of his earlier life.

² Lascelles, *Liber Munerum Hiberniae* (1824), ii. 20.

declined to accept the office of Secretary of State which William pressed upon him, he raised no objection to the recognition of his work by the new sovereign in the person of his son. He consented that the young man should assume the dignity of Secretary-at-War.¹ Unfortunately, however, an event which should have been a source of paternal joy and pride was the occasion, on the other hand, of one of the greatest sorrows of Temple's life. John Temple was a young man of respectable talents, but his brain would seem to have been turned by the anxieties of his exalted position: a few days after his appointment he filled his pockets with stones and drowned himself in the Thames beneath London Bridge. The shock of this tragedy, his grief for which was accentuated by the fact that the youth had been the only one of his numerous sons to escape from the mortal ailments to which children are prone, must have confirmed Temple in his studied seclusion. He had yet another sorrow in store for him, when, in January 1695, his wife, the companion and confidante of Queen Mary, followed her mistress and friend to the tomb. In spite of his withdrawal, Temple kept up his acquaintance with King William, who occasionally visited him at Sheen, and who is known to have asked his advice with reference to the passing of the Triennial Bill of 1692-93. Temple assured the monarch that the Bill involved no diminution of the authority of the Crown.²

The incident of greatest interest in these last quiet years of Temple's life is that of his friendship with

¹ Not, as in D.N.B., "*Secretary of State for War*"—a totally distinct office, which at that time had not been called into existence.

² Courtenay, ii. 134.

and patronage of Swift. The latter had come to Moor Park as Temple's amanuensis in 1689, at the niggardly salary of £20 a year; and it is there that he may first have become acquainted with Esther Johnson, the "Stella" of his later life, whose mother was then an attendant upon Lady Giffard. The connection between patron and client does not at first appear to have been remarkably cordial: the uncouth young Irishman must indeed have been rather an unpleasant subordinate. Gradually, however, their relations improved, and after 1696 Swift, mindful of many kindnesses he had received at Temple's hands, became genuinely attached to his patron and benefactor. In Temple's declining years his secretary was of incalculable assistance in aiding him to prepare and get ready for the press the bulky volumes which contain his works and Memoirs. He also afforded proof of his affection for his master by entering as a protagonist into the famous literary controversy which was the last interest of Temple's life. The extent of his attachment was finally shown on the occasion of his patron's death. Temple had never been a strong man in later life; he had suffered much from the gout and the "spleen." In 1691, and again in 1695, on the death of his wife, he had passed through periods of ill-health. During his last illness in the winter of 1698-99 Swift kept a daily record of his condition; and the conclusion of his life is marked in his secretary's diary with the following note: "He died at one o'clock this morning, the 27 January 1698-9, and with him all that was good and amiable among men."

According to the directions contained in his will,

his heart was buried in a silver casket under a sundial still to be seen in the garden of Moor Park. His body was laid beside that of his wife in the south aisle of Westminster Abbey; Lady Giffard survived him for many years, and on her death in 1722 was also buried in the family vault. By the tragic end of his only son Temple had been left without surviving offspring, his only daughter Diana having died at an early age in 1679. He left, however, two grandchildren, daughters of John Temple, one of whom married Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland Hall, Coddensham, whilst the other became the wife of her cousin, John Temple, second son of Sir John, the brother of Sir William and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. Thus with Temple's death the Baronetcy conferred upon him in 1666 became extinct.

CHAPTER VIII

CHARACTER AND WORKS

WE have hitherto devoted but little attention to the consideration of Temple's character and works. Of the former little need be said; its main features are apparent from a study of his life. Personally he was a strikingly handsome man, as may be seen from his portraits,¹ and a fit husband for so attractive a woman as Dorothy Osborne. His face was fleshy, his mouth resolute and almost stern, and indicative of the observant and contemplative cast of his intellect.

The literary work to which he is indebted for much of his fame calls for a little detailed attention. We have seen² how in his retirement in 1670-74 he devoted his seclusion to the composition of essays. Of these perhaps the most famous is his "Observations upon the United Provinces,"³ which affords an admirable example of Temple's quickness of perception of any detail which struck him in the course of his travels. He accepts the traditional idea of a Dutchman as a "cold and heavy" being; though this belief must have sustained a severe shock from

¹ See the portrait by Lely prefixed to Courtenay's *Life*, and another by the same painter inserted in Parry's edition of Dorothy's letters.

² *Supra*, p. 61.

³ "Works," i. 58-222.

the appalling events which accompanied the murder of the two De Witts.¹ His chapter "On Their Religion" has been perhaps the subject of more controversy than anything else in this little book, for it has given us an insight into Temple's own religious ideas; though assuredly the zeal with which he upholds toleration does not appear to us, as it did to good Bishop Gunning of Ely, adequate reason for convicting him of want of belief in the dogmas of Christianity.

Earlier than this he had already written (for the benefit of Arlington) an "Essay upon the Present State and Settlement of Ireland," and a similar treatise upon the means of advancing trade in that country.² Some of the views herein expressed are more in accordance with those of Cromwell than with the ideas of those State physicians who have in later

¹ The assassination of the Grand Pensionary and his brother by an infuriated rabble, taken in conjunction with the series of judicial murders of innocent Papists by which London was disgraced a few years later during the frenzy aroused by the so-called "Popish Plot," are events which should go far to dispel the erroneous conception that the Teutonic races are less liable than their Latin neighbours to ferocious outbursts of unreasoning passion. Similar instances may be cited from more recent times. The scene in Stockholm in June 1810, when the Grand Marshal, Count Fersen, the chivalrous hero of the flight to Varennes, was torn in pieces by a mob actuated by the grotesque conviction that he had poisoned the Prince of Augustenburg, was as bad as any which characterised the worst phase of the French Revolution; whilst the murder of Lamberg at Buda-Pesth, of Latour at Vienna, and of Lichnowsky and Auerswald by the populace of Frankfurt—to mention but a few of the scenes which accompanied the revolutionary movements of 1848 in Germany, Austria, and Hungary—were events at least as hideous as any witnessed in Paris during the corresponding period, or even during the Commune.

² "Works," iii. 1-31.

years—with, it must be owned, but indifferent success—prescribed less drastic cures for the ills of the distressful country. He certainly did not believe in the policy of killing disaffection with kindness; and even in the twentieth century benevolent Irish Secretaries may be led by experience to acquiesce in his dictum that “to think of governing that kingdom by a sweet and obliging temper is to think of putting four wild horses into a coach and driving them without whip and reins.” He enunciates a further proposition which is at least arguable, that Ireland has already “cost us more blood and treasure than it is worth.” If Temple’s verdict was a true one in 1660, it is interesting to speculate what his judgment would have been had he been living in 1908.

Some of his suggestions for advancing trade seem in these days to border on the grotesque: *e.g.*, his proposal to set apart a whole week in each year for races and a horse fair, after which the owners of the two prize horses in each year should ride in state from the show-ground to the Castle with the Lord-Lieutenant and dine with him.

His essay on “Popular Discontents”¹ contains some interesting material. At the end of the essay he tries his hand at delineating the conditions of a model state. Amongst his suggested reforms are some which have since been either partially or entirely carried out: such as the erection of work-houses and the substitution of penal servitude for the death penalty then inflicted for theft and highway robbery. Less reasonable are his propositions for a

¹ “Works,” iii. 32-66.

tax on bachelors over twenty-five years of age, his prohibition of marriage portions over £2,000, and the limitation to younger sons of the field for the choice of husbands in the case of heiresses. One observation in the course of this work few will be found to dispute, though it might have been more tersely expressed. When we read that "nothing is so cheated nor so commonly mistaken as public opinion; and many men come out when they come into great and public employments the weakness of whose heads or hearts would never have been discovered if they had kept within their private spheres of life," we are irresistibly reminded how Tacitus contrived to express the same truth in an imperishable sentence of six words.¹

The essay on the "Cure of Gout by Moxa,"² which he composed at Nimeguen in 1677, deals with a specific which he had found in his own case to give temporary relief to that ailment. It is in the course of this paper that he gives expression to the curious conception that wine is not intended for common use, as is proved by the small part of the world in which it is produced.

In his paper on "Health and Long Life"³ Temple displays on more than one occasion an element of quaint humour, as when he tells us that one of the tests of a physician's excellence is his giving such prescriptions as, "if they do not good, may be sure to do no harm"; and his sensible if somewhat prosaic advice that, if one happens to be in a place where the

¹ "Omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset."

² "Works," iii. 238-65.

³ *Ibid.*, 266-303.

plague is raging, "the best and safest course is to run away as soon as one can."

In his essay on "Heroic Virtue"¹ Temple pronounces that panegyric on Confucius—of whom it is certain that he can have known very little—which exposed him to Burnet's imputation of being an Atheist "who left religion to the rabble." This essay, in which, moreover, he descants upon the merits of other legendary "heroes" such as Mango Copac,² Odin, and Mahomet, is the one which Courtenay has expressed his inability to read without skipping, and all who have essayed the task will appreciate the difficulty and readily forgive him.

His essay on "Poetry"³ contains little of interest; nor does that on "Ancient and Modern Learning"⁴ require much detailed notice. It is well known to all students of English literature, if not at first hand, through the account which Macaulay gives of its absurd errors of commission and omission. Its importance lies in the controversy of which it was the *fons et origo*, illuminated as it was by the wit of Swift in his "Battle of the Books," and effectually closed by that prodigious monument of learning, Bentley's "Dissertation on the Letters of Phalaris," whose publication Temple, fortunately for his *amour propre*, did not live to witness. Viewed, however, as literature, apart from its subject matter, this essay is one of Temple's best productions, his views being expressed, as Macaulay says, with "extraordinary felicity of language," and "we could scarcely select

¹ "Works," iii. 304-93.

² The legendary founder of the Kingdom of Peru.

³ Works, 394-429.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 430-72.

a more favourable specimen of the graceful and easy majesty to which his style sometimes rises." His entry upon this controversy in support of Boyle was a presumptuous exhibition of folly, and displays at once his inherent vanity and the contrast between his caution in political and his rashness in literary matters.

Dr Johnson says that Temple was "the first writer who gave cadence to English prose."¹ This is an exaggerated estimate. Johnson forgets Jeremy Taylor, to say nothing of Selden and Cowley, and, despite his affected classicalisms in expression (which Johnson of all men should have appreciated), Sir Thomas Browne. Temple is, however, entitled to a high place amongst the earliest writers of English prose, but Hallam, who characterises his periods as "studiously rhythmical," is right in adding "yet they want the variety and peculiar charm that we admire in those of Dryden."²

Swift, in his preface to the two first volumes of Temple's correspondence, says that: "It is generally believed that this author has advanced our English tongue to as great perfection as it can well bear"—a striking instance of the unwisdom of making comprehensive generalisations as to the future.

Temple may be regarded as the precursor of the great essayists of the early eighteenth century; there is much in his miscellaneous writings which might have served as a rough model for the more polished essays of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. His style—though, as Macaulay has remarked, his

¹ Boswell, ch. 63.

² "Lit. Hist. Europe," iii. 558.

sentences are long—even in this respect exhibits a distinctly favourable contrast to the sesquipedalian periods of Clarendon. Regarded as a whole, his language differs but little from that of any good writer of the nineteenth century. He evinces here and there a tendency to an excessive use of Gallicisms—a criticism which we know, on the authority of Swift, was commonly made on his works at their first publication. He also makes an extravagant use of some Latin derivatives.

A cynical critic might detect in not a few passages of Temple's writings a disposition to labour the obvious, and might even describe some of his remarks as platitudes: as, for example, the sentences¹ which to the gentle soul of Elia² seemed "a string of felicitous antitheses." He also displays a taste for etymological and ethnological theories, which are probably not original, and certainly of no more value than his belief in the genuineness of the letters of Phalaris, or in the reality of the fabled exploits of Almanzor³ which made Gibbon smile.

His finest literary work is to be found in the letter⁴ of consolation and remonstrance entitled "Of the Excesses of Grief," addressed to the Countess of Essex on the loss of her only daughter. A touch of pathos is added to the stately sentences in which

¹ "A white staff will not help gouty feet to walk better than a common cane; nor a blue riband bind up a wound so well as a fillet; the glitter of gold or of diamond will but hurt sore eyes, instead of curing them; and an aching head will be no more eased by wearing a crown than a common night-cap." (*On Health and Long Life*, "Works," iii. 270).

² Essay on the "Genteel Style in Writing."

³ Essay on "Heroic Virtue," iii. 373.

⁴ 29th January 1674. ("Works," iii. 502-13.)

he inculcates unrepining resignation to the will of the Almighty by the recollection that, within a few years of their being penned, he himself had to mourn the loss of the only two of his children who had survived infancy.

In his essay on "Gardening"¹ he deals with the subject most congenial to his tastes. "Statesmen out of place" are prone to magnify the pleasures of rural or agricultural pursuits, though in these latter days the operation of felling trees has occasionally superseded the process of planting them. The negotiator of the Triple Alliance, sauntering in the *parterres* of Sheen, recalls the image of Townshend, when released from political responsibilities, hoeing turnips at Raynham, or of Bolingbroke moralising amid his haycocks at Dawley, when excluded by his triumphant and ungenerous enemies from the arena of the Senate.

But Temple's withdrawal from the cares of State was voluntary, and his pursuits had no savour of affectation. He seems to have been more interested in the produce of his gardens, his "apricocks," his oranges, and his plums, than in the less profitable departments of horticulture. Indeed, he somewhat contemptuously declines to "enter upon any account of flowers," regarding the care of them as "more the ladies' part than the men's."² He lived before the rise of the English style of landscape gardening, which afterwards supplanted the geometrical style prevalent in his day. It is interesting to notice that "Capability Brown," the founder of the English style,

¹ "Works," iii. 195-237.

² Essay on "Gardening," iii. 223.

served his apprenticeship to his art in the gardens of a later Temple at Stowe.

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to summarise the public career of Sir William Temple. Of his character as a politician there can hardly be any great difference of opinion. It is, of course, possible in his case, as in that of any other statesman known to history, to emphasise certain points and pass lightly over others; but the main features must remain unaffected. In dealing with Pitt or Peel or Palmerston or (to take, perhaps, a closer parallel), a diplomatist such as Stratford Canning, critics and biographers may be in full agreement as to the facts of history, and yet hold diametrically opposite views alike as to the rectitude of their political (as distinct from their moral) consciences, and the tendency and results of the measures which they advocated or of the counsels they pursued. This is hardly the case with Temple, —perhaps, in some measure, because the public issues with which his name is most closely associated have little bearing on modern controversies. Our views on the means by which the Union of Great Britain and Ireland or the repeal of the Corn Laws were effected, or on the diplomacy of the “Great Eltchi” at Constantinople in 1853, may well be coloured by individual party predilections, but it is difficult to arouse any overmastering degree of enthusiasm for or against the Triple Alliance or the somewhat *doctrinaire* Privy Council scheme of 1679. Hence, for a century and a half the name of Temple was relegated to a semi-oblivion which was certainly unmerited; and it is hardly too much to say that,

had the author of "Sybil" written a famous chapter of his novel ten years earlier than its actual date, he might well have included Temple with Wildman and Shelburne as worthy of a place amongst the "suppressed characters of English history." From that obscurity Temple has been permanently rescued by the accident that a painstaking but rather dull biography of the long-neglected statesman has been made the text for one of those brilliant, if sometimes shallow and generally one-sided, essays by means of which the incisive pen of Macaulay has conferred immortality—in some cases¹ scarcely to be desired—upon prominent public men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The one point which stands out above all others in the personality of Temple is the shrinking from responsibility which characterised his whole career, and his selfish preference for the *dilettante* pursuits of cultured leisure when he might have been engaged in rendering good and lasting services to his country. Probably most of his contemporaries, and some at least of the students of his life, would have said of him, as of Galba, "*imperii capax*": if his capacity was not proved by the event, it is by his own act and deliberate choice that we are unable either to deny or affirm the limitation "*nisi imperasset*." An eminent living statesman has told us, as the result of his own experience, that there are two supreme pleasures in the politician's life, one ideal, the other real. "The ideal joy is when a man receives the seals of office at the hands of his sovereign; the real pleasure comes when he carries them back." It is

¹ E.g., Barrère.

for the historian of the future to pass a calm judgment on the political career of Lord Rosebery, but at least he had the courage to take the reins from the hands of Gladstone. Temple had no Gladstone to follow: we are hardly putting an exaggerated estimate on his personal honour or his political sagacity if we assume that he need not have felt himself unequal to filling the seat of a Shaftesbury or a Sunderland. From this task, however, Temple shrank—apparently from apprehension of the dangers it involved. Hence, having throughout the whole course of his career, as Macaulay says, “avoided the great offices of State with a caution almost pusillanimous, and confined himself to quiet and secluded departments of public business in which he could enjoy moderate but certain advantages without incurring envy,” he has left a character which might entitle him to a place in Dante’s *Inferno*, “in the dark vestibule next to the shade of that inglorious pontiff *che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto*.”

This self-effacement is perhaps to be regretted. His Dutch sympathies, his familiarisation with the political atmosphere of The Hague, and his personal friendship with the Prince of Orange would have combined to render him the most obviously fitting adviser of that Prince after he ascended the English throne. He was free alike from the calculating duplicity of Churchill and the popularity-hunting fickleness of Shrewsbury; he was without participation in the corruption whose taint clings yet to the name of Danby; still less did he share in that cynical contempt for the mere beggarly elements of political consistency which had made the name of Sunderland

odious even before he was "damned to everlasting fame" in the living pages of Macaulay.

But his choice was to trifle away his later years in the shades of Sheen and Moor Park rather than to "drink delight of battle with his peers" in the Senate-house at Westminster, or in the Council chamber at Whitehall. 'Thy choice was most ignobly brave.' When he might have won for himself an undying glory by holding the first place in the councils of his country at one of the most difficult crises of her history, and side by side with his old friend, now his master, have directed the policy of the Grand Alliance, the only fame to which he looked was such as was to be derived from that rash excursion into the realms of literature in which, knowing little of the latter and less of the former, he presumed to appraise the relative merits of Ancient and Modern learning.

We are loth, however, to part from Temple recalling in our last words the remembrance of that egregious folly. Though he has no place in the first rank of our national authors, his works are entitled to kindly notice for two reasons: they are amongst the earliest examples of effective English prose; models, as Lamb observes, of the "gentlemanly," as those of the younger Shaftesbury are of the "lordly," style in writing; and they are not defiled by the grossness alike of imagination and of expression which, except in the productions of Puritans and orthodox divines, was almost universal in the Caroline period, and only less prevalent in that of the Revolution.

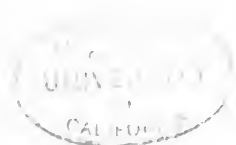
Pope has said of a now almost forgotten minor poet that

"In all Charles's days
Roscommon only boasts unspotted lays ;"

and to Temple's prose a similar tribute may with almost equal justice be ascribed. "He kept himself," to quote the words of Hume, "altogether unspotted by that inundation of vice and licentiousness which overwhelmed the nation ;" and if, as the same writer asserts, there is "a mixture of vanity in his works," we may add with him that "by means of it we enter into acquaintance with the character of the author, full of honour and humanity." That phrase precisely expresses the main virtues of Temple's personality: he was essentially a gentleman, and no unworthy husband of one who, as revealed in her letters, must have been a woman of singular charm of character. He had the culture of the man of refined tastes and scholarly instincts, to whom the *literae humaniores*, in the wider rather than in the deeper sense, ever afforded delight and solace. Hence he was enabled to discuss, with a measure of authority more apparent than real, some of the subjects on which his pen was from time to time engaged.

In his public career he showed that he possessed not a few of the special attributes which go to the making of a successful diplomatist; as a practical politician we can only judge him by his one measure of constructive statesmanship, the Privy Council scheme of 1679. During the eighteen years of life which remained to him after the collapse of this

unlucky experiment he refused to avail himself of any of the opportunities which were offered him of taking an active share in the government of the nation. Hence, though for a time he had borne a conspicuous part in the political life of his day, the permanent impression which his name conveys to later ages is that of one of the "might-have-beens" of history. He was a good but hardly a great man, and he has earned in the judgment of posterity a less resplendent, if at the same time a less dubious, fame than attaches to the memory of others of his kith and kin who, with no greater opportunities of distinction than were his, yet "did the State some service," because they preferred the strenuous life of the statesman to the safer but more inglorious pursuits of the leisured country gentleman.



APPENDICES



DIX I

AND HAMMON

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Sir V
P

* S Thomas.
One of Charles
I.'s Judges.

* (Dr) Henry.
Tutor of
Sir Wm. Temple,
and Chaplain to
Charles I.

E, Bart.
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APPENDIX II

THE NORTHAMPTON ELECTION

THE return of Temple for Northampton in 1678 is not noticed either in Courtenay's Life or in the D.N.B. We find, however, in the Journals of the House of Commons, that at an Election on 31st October 1678 Temple and Ralph Montagu were the candidates. The Mayor, who was the local returning officer, declared Montagu duly elected, but Mr Neale, the Sheriff of the County (the official through whom all borough returns were transmitted until the Reform Act), took upon himself to substitute Temple's name. A petition from the aggrieved candidate naturally followed, and Montagu was seated, the Sheriff being committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. The votes polled were, Montagu 482, Temple 155.

Elections for Northampton in the "Pensioners' Parliament" (1661-78) were many, and were usually followed by petitions. During the seventeen years of that Parliament no less than thirteen individuals were returned (one of them twice), of whom six were unseated by the House of Commons. The proceedings at the General Election were particularly lively, and are described at length in the report of the Committee which tried the petition against the return. Some sentences in this report relating to the Mayor's "rude carriage" (for which he afterwards "received a grave reprehension at the hands of Mr Speaker") will

bear repetition. The Committee found that the Mayor had "used menace" to voters of the opposite party, had "fraudulently made infants free to the end that they might vote as he pleased," and had "released Quakers out of prison, and put halberts in their hands to keep back and discourage such as would have voted contrary to his intention, and adjourned the taking of the poll into the Church, and got upon the Communion Table and there behaved in a very profane and indecent manner." The picture of the irreverent Mayor on the Communion Table and of the militant Quakers armed with halberts deserves to be rescued from the oblivion of the Journals.

APPENDIX III

THE ORIGIN OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL SCHEME

THE extent of Temple's responsibility for the conception of the scheme of a new Privy Council has been called in question by some historians of the nineteenth century. Mr Christie, in his "Life of Shaftesbury," has pointed out that Temple, in his *Memoirs*, has exaggerated his own share and influence in this transaction. Temple therein observes: "The whole matter was consulted and deduced upon paper, only between the King and me." Miss Foxcroft, authoress of the "Life of Halifax," has shown that Temple was not the sole originator of the plan, but that an analogous scheme had already occurred to Monmouth and Sunderland, and that it was these two nobles who took the first step towards its realisation. She goes on to say: "Far more influence must be assigned to the counsels of Sunderland and of the Duke of Monmouth (than to those of Temple); Charles merely flattered the vanity of Temple, which was considerable, by an affectation of peculiar confidence." ("Life of Halifax," vol. i. pp. 145, 146.)

This view as to the origination of the project is borne out by contemporary judgment. Public opinion certainly did not regard the scheme as peculiarly Temple's own. "No other contemporary writer," says Christie, "speaks of Temple as the author of the change, while Temple represents himself as sole

author. Algernon Sidney (in a letter to Savile, dated 21st April 1679) ascribes the new measure to Sunderland. Burnet does not mention Temple. Barillon, in a despatch written on the day of Charles's public announcement, speaks of Monmouth, Sunderland, and the Duchess of Portsmouth as promoting the plan, and of a secret negotiation with Holles and Shaftesbury. It is clear from Temple's narrative that the King had deliberated and made up his mind about Shaftesbury before mentioning his intention to Temple. Monmouth and Sunderland had recommended Shaftesbury to the King, and found the King willing." ("Life of Shaftesbury," vol. ii. pp. 326, 327.)

In the face of the authority of Burnet, Barillon, and Algernon Sidney, it is hard to believe that the sole responsibility for the new scheme is to be laid to the credit of Temple. That Temple considered himself the author of it need count for little, owing to his remarkable vanity where his own achievements are concerned. Mr Christie has probably got to the root of the matter when he suggests that "the King took the idea in the first instance from Temple, continued to talk with him about it and consult him, and, making him believe that it was a secret between Temple and himself, made all the arrangements as to persons, in his usual deceptive way, with Sunderland and the Duchess of Portsmouth."

APPENDIX IV

UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES

IT is the fashion in some quarters to-day to decry University representation in Parliament, but, in detracting from the system, its opponents scarcely do justice to the class of representative, as a whole, which the Universities can boast. Sir William Temple, though a man of whom any constituency might well be proud, was by no means the most distinguished of the representatives whom Cambridge has from time to time returned to Westminster. The names of Newton, Pitt, Palmerston, Lyndhurst, Stokes, and Jebb are in themselves sufficient answer to those who disparage the representation of the Universities in Parliament; whilst, though their place in history is in a lower rank, politicians such as Naunton, Sir John Coke, Thurloe, Boyle, Vernon, Goulburn, Spencer Walpole, Cecil Raikes, and Beresford Hope (a catalogue which includes six Secretaries of State), great lawyers as Charles Yorke, De Grey, James Mansfield, Vicary Gibbs, Tindal, and Selwyn (a Lord Chancellor, four Chief Justices, and a Justice of Appeal), and one of the most eminent of Speakers, Mannors Sutton, form with the greater names above a roll which it is indeed difficult to rival, and to which two distinguished living, past or present, representatives are no unworthy additions.

Oxford, it is true, in times of great political excitement rejected Peel and Gladstone (as Cambridge, too, rejected Palmerston), but not until she had retained the services of each in four Parliaments. Her list of representatives is not quite so illustrious as that of her sister University, but she numbers among them Selden, Matthew Hale, Lawrence Hyde, Secretaries Calvert, Windebank, Leoline Jenkins, Trumbull, and Gathorne Hardy, Lord Chancellor Nottingham (the Finch of Temple's Privy Council), Lord Stowell, and Speaker Abbot.

Dublin has been adorned by Plunket, Croker, and Whiteside, by the historian Lecky, and by Lord Chancellors Napier and Ball, and still, in the persons of Lords Rathmore and Ashbourne, can point to men who as her representatives in the Commons were in the very first rank of Parliamentary debaters.

Nor have the Universities whose representation is only of yesterday a record which they need be ashamed to own, as the names of Lowe, Lubbock, Lyon Playfair, and Lord Watson are sufficient to testify.

Search the roll of Parliamentary constituencies from the days of Edward I., and to find even an approximation to such a list as the foregoing we shall have to resuscitate from their slumber in the tomb of *Schedule A* those "pocket-boroughs" which historian and politician unite to condemn, *e.g.* :—

Newport . . .	Falkland, Stanhope, Wellington, Palmerston, Canning, Melbourne.
Liskeard . . .	Edward Coke, Gibbon, Huskisson, Charles Buller, Horsman.
Seaford . . .	Henry Pelham, Hardwicke, Chatham, Flood, Canning.
Boroughbridge	Richard Steele, Lord Mansfield, Eldon, Burdett, Castlereagh.

St Michael's . .	Raleigh, Holles, Clive, Wellington, Ellenborough (Gov.-Gen. India).
Newtown . .	Marlborough, Nottingham, Canning, Ellenborough (C.J.).
Old Sarum . .	Sir John Denham, Chatham, the first Lord Lyttelton, Marquess Wellesley, Horne Tooke, Stratford de Redcliffe.
Wendover . .	Hampden, Stanhope, Steele, Burke, Canning.
Appleby . . .	Ireton, Pitt, Liverpool, Sir Philip Francis, Grey, Tierney.
Wootton Bassett	Clarendon, Rochester (Lawrence Hyde), Bolingbroke, Lord Mahon (the historian).
Calne	Pym, Dunning, Barré, the third Marquess of Lansdowne, Macaulay, Lowe.

[Newport, Calne, and Liskeard were not, as the other boroughs here named, included among the victims of *Schedule A*,—Calne and Liskeard, however, were in *Schedule B*,—but they belonged to the same class of constituency.]

APPENDIX V

THE *PERSONNEL* OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF 1679-81

THE actual number of the reconstituted Privy Council was thirty-three, three important personages being added to the thirty provided for in the original scheme. These three were * Prince Rupert (Duke of Cumberland), as a member of the Royal Family, Shaftesbury (as President), and * Lauderdale (as Secretary for Scotland). The thirty were divided into two groups of fifteen each, official and non-official, each of these groups being composed of ten peers and five commoners. These were:—

Official.

1. * Sancroft (Archbishop of Canterbury).
2. * Finch (Lord Chancellor).
3. * Anglesey (Privy Seal).
4. * Monmouth (Master of the Horse).
5. * Ormonde (Lord Steward, and also Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland).
6. * Arlington (Lord Chamberlain).
7. * Sunderland (Secretary of State).
8. * Essex (First Lord of the Treasury).
9. * Bath (Groom of the Stole).
10. * Compton (Bishop of London).

Non-Official.

1. * Duke of Albemarle.
2. * Duke of Newcastle.
3. Marquess of Winchester.
4. * Marquess of Worcester.
5. * Earl of Salisbury.
6. * Earl of Bridgewater.
7. * Viscount Fauconberg.
8. Viscount Halifax.
9. * Lord Robartes.
10. Lord Holles.

*Official.**Non-Official.*

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------------|
| 11. * H. Coventry (Secretary of State). | } | 11. Lord Russell †. ¹ |
| 12. Sir F. North (Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas). | | 12. Lord Cavendish †. |
| 13. Sir H. Capel (First Lord of the Admiralty). | } | 13. Sir Wm. Temple. |
| 14. * Sir J. Ernle (Chancellor of the Exchequer). | | 14. * Edward Seymour. |
| 15. * Sir T. Chichele (Master-General of the Ordnance). | } | 15. Henry Powle. |

† These were "courtesy" titles, which they bore as eldest sons of Earls. Both were members of the House of Commons.

(The names marked * are of those who were members of the Privy Council dissolved in 1679, when the new scheme was inaugurated).

This is the official list, taken directly from the *London Gazette*, and not from any intermediate source. The list given in Courtenay (ii. 38 - 40) contains some inaccuracies, Albemarle's first name being given as George, which was that of his father (the General), his own name being Christopher; whilst Henry, Duke of Newcastle, is cited as William, "who as Marquis commanded the army of Charles I.," although that nobleman had in 1679 been for more than two years in his tomb. Edward Seymour, finally, did not become "Sir" Edward Seymour until the death of his father nine years later.

Of the above list twenty-six took their seats on 21st April 1679; four more were sworn on the following day. Of the remaining three, Newcastle was sworn on 27th April, and Holles on 24th June. Ormonde was absent in Ireland, and as he did not return till 1682, he did not take his seat at the Council Board before 24th May of that year—long after the scheme under which the Council was constituted had been finally abandoned.

¹ The once-common designation, "*Lord William Russell*" is quite incorrect, his execution having taken place some years before his father's elevation to a Dukedom.

In addition to the twenty-three members of the old Council distinguished by the mark *, Shaftesbury, Holles, and Halifax had previously held seats at the Board, but had been severally removed on falling into disfavour at Court. Several names on the list of the old Council were omitted at the reconstitution, the best known being those of the Duke of York, Danby, Ossory, St Albans (formerly Henry Jermyn), Bishop Crewe, Sir Joseph Williamson, Ralph Montagu, and Sir R. Carr (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster). Of these it will be seen that Ossory and Carr were chosen to fill vacancies in the course of the following year.

When Shaftesbury was removed in October 1679, his place as President was taken by Robartes, recently elevated to the Earldom of Radnor, the vacancy in the number of the Council being filled by Lawrence Hyde, who about the same time succeeded Essex at the Treasury. Capel, Cavendish, Russell, and Powle withdrew in January 1680, giving place to Daniel Finch (the Nottingham of later reigns), who took Capel's seat at the Admiralty, Sidney Godolphin and Sir Leoline Jenkins, who now succeeded Coventry as Secretary of State; the fourth vacancy was filled a few weeks later by Ossory.

In May, Clarendon (Hyde's elder brother) was admitted to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Holles in February, and on the death of Ossory in July his place was taken three months later by Carr. Finally, when the names of Sunderland, Essex, Salisbury, and Temple were removed from the list in January 1681, the Earls of Oxford and Ailesbury, both of whom had been discarded in 1679, were restored; and to these were added the Earls of Chesterfield and Conway, the latter of whom took over Sunderland's Secretaryship. Monmouth, though no formal announcement of his exclusion from the Council was published in the *Gazette*, had ceased to be a member since the end of 1679.



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